أبوابٌ في الصّين والتركِ والهندِ

منتخبة من كتاب

طَبائع الحَيوانِ

للطّبيبِ شَرف الزّمانِ طاهر المَروزيّ

كَتَبهُ نَحْوَ سَنة ٥١٤هـ

acheté au Caire, le 17 Juillet 1944
par le Père Anastase Marie de St Elie
carmélite
à 90 piastres

طالعته من اوله الى آخره في ساعتين
ونصف في صباح ١٧/٧/١٩٤٤ وانا الفقير الى الله تعالى
الأب انستاس ماري الكرملي [illegible]

الباب الثامن

في صفة الصين

[12a] (1) مملكة الصين واسعة الرقعة كثيرة المدن والأمصار والقرى وتدخل في ثلثة أقاليم وذلك انّ الاقليم الاوّل يبتدئ من المشرق من أقاصى بلاد الصين و يمرّ على بلاد الصين ممّا يلى الجنوب وفيه مدينة الملك وفيه مرفأ السفن وهو المرفأ الصينى ثمّ يمرّ على سواحل البحر فى جنوب بلاد الهند ثمّ على بلاد السند ويمرّ فى البحر على جزيرة الكرك ويقطع البحر الى جزيرة العرب وأرض اليمن وبلاده وهى ظفار وعُمان وعدن وحضرموت وصنعاء وجرش ومَهرة وسَبأ وغيرها ثمّ يقطع بحر القُلزم فيمرّ فى بلاد الحبشة ويقطع نيل مصر ويمرّ على البلد الذى يسمّى جَرْمَى وهو دار ملك الحبشة ويمرّ على دنقلة وهى مدينة النوبة ثمّ يمرّ فى ارض المغرب على جنوب بلاد البربر الى أن ينتهى الى بحر المغرب والاقليم الثانى يبتدئ من المشرق فيمرّ على بلاد الصين ثمّ على بلاد [12b] الهند ثمّ بلاد السند ويمرّ على المنصورة ودَيْبُل ويقطع البحر الأخضر وبحر البصرة وجزيرة العرب فى أرض نجدٍ وتهامةَ واليمامة والبحرين وهَجَر ويقطع بحر القُلزم ويمرّ فى صعيد مصر ثم يمرّ فى أرض المغرب على وسط بلاد إفريقية ثمّ يمرّ على بلاد البربر وينتهى الى بحر المغرب والاقليم الثالث يبتدئ من المشرق فيمرّ على شمال بلاد الصين ثمّ على بلاد الهند وعلى شمال بلاد السند ثمّ على بلاد كابُل ثمّ على كرمان وسجستان ثمّ على سواحل

بحر البصرة ويمرّ بكُوَر الأهواز ثمّ يمرّ على بلاد الشأم ثم يقطع اسافل ارض مصر والقيروان وينتهى الى بحر المغرب والاقليم الرابع يبتدئ من المشرق ويمرّ ببلاد التبّت ثم على خراسان وما وراء نهر جيحون وارض العراق والديلم وبعض بلاد الشأم والروم ثمّ فى بحر الشأم على جزيرة قُبرس ورُودس ويمرّ فى بلاد المغرب على ارض طنجة وينتهى الى بحر المغرب والاقليم الخامس يبتدئ من المشرق من بلاد ياجوج وماجوج ويمرّ على شمال بلاد خراسان وما وراء النهر وخوارزم ثمّ على آذربيجان وأرمينية وبلاد الروم ثم يمرّ بسواحل بحر الشأم ممّا يلى الشمال ثمّ على بلاد الأندلس وينتهى الى بحر المغرب والاقليم السادس يبتدئ من المشرق من شمال بلاد ياجوج ويمرّ على بلاد الترك ثمّ على سواحل بحر آبسْكون ممّا يلى الشمال ثمّ يقطع بحر الروم ويمرّ ببلاد الصقالبة وينتهى الى بحر المغرب والاقليم السابع يبتدئ من المشرق من بلاد ياجوج ويمرّ على بلاد التغزغز وأرض الترك ثمّ على بلاد اللّان ثمّ على السرير ثمّ على بُرجان ثمّ على بعض الصقالبة وينتهى الى بحر المغرب

(2) فأرض الصين داخلة فى ثلثة من هذه الأقاليم لإمتداد أطرافها وكثرة بلادها ولمّا كانت بلادها موضوعةً فى مشارق الشمس كانت أهويتها صافيةً ومياهها باردةً [13a] عَذبَةً وتُربها طيّبةً واذا كانت البلاد بهذه الصفة كان سكّانها وعُمّارها كذلك لما ذكرنا انّ أخصّ الاشياء بالحيوان تُربته التى يتكوّن فيها ولهذا يُنسَب الانسان الى الترب كما يُنسَب الى الوالدين فيُقال حجازىّ وشامىّ ورومىّ وهندىّ وصينىّ كما يقال عدنانىّ وقحطانىّ وعلوىّ وعبّاسىّ فأهل الصين معتدلو[a] المزاج حسنو[a] الشكل والصورة سلسو[a] الأخلاق وهم اجناسٌ مختلفة البلاد والمساكن

(3) وينقسم أراضيهم ثلثة اقسامٍ وهى الصين وقُتاى[b] التى يسمّيها العامّة خطاى ويُغُر وأعظمها خِطّةً ومملكةً الصين

a Ms. معتدلوا حسنوا سلسوا   b Ms. ! كذا

(4) و اهله أحذق الناس بالصنائع المهنية لا يُدانيهم فيها أحدٌ من الأمم ولِاهل الروم يدٌ عاليةٌ فيها الّا انّهم لا يبلغون فيها مبلغَ اهل الصين واهل الصين يقولون انّ الناس كلّهم عُميان فى الصناعة الّا اهل الروم فانّهم يبصرون بعين واحدة يعنى انّهم عرفوا نصفَ العمل

(5) و اهل الصين لا يُخالطون الاتراك و يُخالفونهم فى اكثر الأشياء لِأنّهم يلبسون الجباب و العمائم و لا يلبسون الأقبية والقلانس وامّا اهل قتاى و يُغر فيخالطون الأتراك و يواصلونهم و بينهم و بين ملوك ما وراء النهر مكاتبات و مواصلات و اهل الصين بخلاف ذلك ولا يمكّنون الغرباء من الدخول اليهم والمقام بين أظهرهم

(6) وذلك سُنّةٌ سنّها لهم مانى المتنبّى حين غرس فى قلوبهم مذهبَه وهو مذهب الثنوية خاف أن ياتيهم من الغرباء [أحدٌ] فيُبيّن لهم فسادَ ذلك المذهب و يَصُدّهم عنه

(7) و قد رأيتُ رجلاً ذا حُنكة قد دخل الصين وعامَل اهله فى المتاجر فحكى انّ بلدهم الذى هو دار المُلك يسمّى ينجور و هو بلدٌ كبيرٌ استدارتُه مسيرة ثلثة ايام و بقربه بلدٌ آخر أعظم منه و يقال له كوفوا[a] الّا انّ الملك ينزل ينجور قال وهذا البلد يخرقه نهرٌ كبيرٌ يقطع البلد بنصفين [تا 13] فيسكن الملك وحواشيه و جنوده وأتباعه فى أحدِ الشقّين وفى الشقّ الأخَر مساكن الرعايا والاسواق وملكهم يسمّى تمغاج خان وهو الّذى يقال له فغفور

(8) وحكى عن اهل[*] الصين من الحذق فى صناعة أشياء عجيبةٍ منها انّه قال انّ للملك فى كلّ مُدّةٍ ذكرها يومًا يأذن للخاصّ و العامّ فيه ويجلس للمظالم و بين يدَى مجلسه ميدانٌ كبيرٌ فسيحٌ فيوضع على باب الميدان قطعة خشب كبيرةٌ و يوضع عليها قَدّومٌ فاوّل من يدخل يأخذ القدوم ويضرب به ضربةً واحدةً على الخشبة ثمّ الذى يليه

* لِأهل تا
a كووا Ms

يَضرِب ضربةً وكذلك يفعل كلّ من يدخل فإذا كان آخر المجلس حصل من الخشبة تمثالٌ كاملٌ إمّا فرسٍ وإمّا أسدٍ وإمّا انسان وغيره و لَمْ يضرِبْ أحدٌ ممّن دخل الّا ضربةً واحدةً وغاية حِذقهم انّ الذى دخل اوّلاً وضرب ضربةً واحدةً فالتالى له يعرف انّه لِأىّ تمثالٍ قصد حين بدأه

(9) و صنعة التماثيل عندهم تعبّدٌ وتقرّبٌ لِانّ مانى أمرهم بذلك و غرّهم بقول الفلاسفة فانّهم قالوا فى حَدّ الفلسفة إنّه التقبّل بالله بحَسَب الطاقة الانسانية

(10) و ذكرَ ايضا انّ من اهل الأسواقِ قومٌ يطوف فى البلد يبيعون الامتعة والفواكه وغير ذلك و قد اتّخذ كلّ واحدٍ لنفسه عُجلةً يجلس فيها ويضع فيها أقمشةً و أمتعةً وما يحتاج اليه فى البيع و الشراء والعجلة تجرى من ذاتها من غير دابّةٍ وهو جالسٌ عليها يحبسُها إذا شاء و يُرسِلها اذا شاء

(11) قال ورأيتُ اهل الأسواق راغبين فى القمار ما من حانوتٍ الّا وفيه كعابٌ ونردٌ وربّما تعاسَرَ المتبايعان فى شئٍ فيقول أحدهما هلمّ فنُقامرُ عليه فينتقلون من المعاملة الى المخاطرة

(12) وامّا صنعة الثياب الملبوسه و المفروشة فلهم فيها نيقةٌ ومهارةٌ و لا يبلغها احدٌ من الأمم

(13) و قد حكينا انّ رافريذ الجوسىّ حمل مع نفسه من الصين قميصًا أخضرَ كان يَسَعُ [14a] مطويًا قبضةٌ لا يتبيّن منه شئٌ

(14) و قد كُتب فى الاخبار ان رسولاً من بعض ملوك الاسلام توجّه الى مَلك الصين فحكى انّه لمّا حصل بحضرة ملك الصين تلقّاه قومُه بالاكرام وأحسنوا مثواه قال ورأيت لِملكهم خَدَمًا محبوبين كأنّهم البدور وهم الّذين يختصرون[a] بخدمة الملك ويتكلّمون عنه على سبيل السفارة قال وكان واحدٌ منهم يأتينى برسالةِ الملك ويَسمع منّى الجواب ويُؤدّيه وكان عارفًا بأكثر اللغات فبينا هو يكلّمنى ذات يومٍ عن الملك إذ وقع بصرى على خالٍ أسودَ على صدره يلوح من تحت القميص كأنّه بارزٌ

a ! كذا

فتدخلتني حَيرة لحُسن بياض بَشَرَتِه وسواد شامته ودقّة قميصه فقال ما لكَ قد تغيّرَ حالك فقلتُ كثُر تعجّبي من دقّة قميصك وحُسنه فقال أوَ قدّرتَ انّ عليَّ قميصًا واحدًا ثم قام ونزع قميصًا ثمّ قميصًا آخر حتّى نزع خمسة من القمصان فكان الخال يلوح من تحت خمسة الأثواب وهذا نوعٌ واحدٌ من الثياب

(15) وعندهم انواع أُخَر منه كثيرة تُجلَب من عندهم مع طُرَف عجيبة غريبة وتُجلَب اليهم العاج والكُنْدُر والكهرباء الفصوصى الصقلبى الذى يقطر صمغًا من الاشجار فى بحر الصقالبة لِأنّ بالصين كهرباء يضرب الى السواد فلا يرغبون فيه ويرغبون فى الفصوصى لِيَتَحَلّوا[a] به ويزعمون انّه ينفع من الإصابة بالعين ويرغبون ايضا فى الختو الذى هو قرن الكركدّن وهو أعزّ محمولٍ الى الصين لأنّهم يتّخذون منه المناطق وتبلغ قيمة المنطقة منه مبلغًا عظيمًا عندهم

(16) والجلّابون الذين يجلبون الامتعة الى الصين لا يُمكّنون من دخول البلد ويكون اكثرُ متاجرهم مخايبةً وذلك انّ بالقرب من البلد واديًا عظيمًا كأعظم ما يكون من الأودية وفى وسطه جزيرةٌ كبيرة فيها حصنٌ كبيرٌ يسكنه طائفةٌ من المسلمين الطالبيّين العلويّين وهم سُفَراء بين اهل الصين وبين مَن يفد عليهم من القوافل والتجّار ويخرجون اليهم ويُطالعون البضائع [14b] والامتعة ويحملونها الى صاحب الصين ويأتون بالعِوَض إذا تقرّر وربّما دخل الواحد بعد الواحد من التجّار مع بضاعته فيبقى فيه ايّامًا وامّا سبب سكون العلوية فى الجزيرة المذكورة فانّهم فرقةٌ من الطالبيّين وقعوا الى خراسان فى ايّام بنى أميّة واستوطنوها فلمّا رأوا جِدّ بنى أُميّة فى طلبهم وإبادتهم خلصوا نجيًا وتوجّهوا نحو المشرق ولم تَثبُتْ لهم قَدَمٌ فى شئٍ من ديار الإسلام خوفًا من الطلب فانحازوا الى الصين فلمّا بلغوا شطّ الوادي مَنعَهم الرصد عن العبور كعادتهم ولم يكن لهم سبيل الى الرجوع فقالوا وراءنا السيف وقُدّامنا البحر وكان

a Ms. لينحآون

الحصن الذى فى الجزيرة خلا من[a] اهله لِأن الحيّات قد كثُرت فيه واستولت عليه فقال العلويّة مكابدة هذه الحيات أسهل من مكابدة السيوف والغرق فدخلوا الحصن وجعلوا يقتلون الحيّات ويرموزها فى الماء حتّى طهّروا الحصن عنها فى مُدّة قريبة واستوطنوا ولمّا علم صاحب الصين انّ ليس وراءهم غائلة وأنّهم مضطرّون الى التمسّك بجانبه أقرّهم فى ذلك الموضع وأنعشهم بمعيشة سوّغها لهم فسكنوا آمنين مُطمئنّين وتوالدوا وتناسلوا وتعلّموا لسانَ الصين ولسان غيرهم ممّن يفد عليهم وصاروا سُفراء لهم

(17) ولسان الصين مخالف لسائر الألسنة وكذلك لسان التبّت واهل الصين كلّهم على دين واحدٍ وهو دين مانى بخلاف قناى ويُغر فإنّ فيهم سائر الأديان الّا اليهودية

(18) وقد كان فى قديم الدهر جميع كُوَر ما وراء النهر من مملكة الصين وكورةُ سمرقند كالقصبة لها فلمّا ظهر الاسلام وفتح الله تعالى للمسلمين كُوَرها انحاز اهل الصين الى مراكزهم وبقى فى سمرقند من آثار اهل الصين صنعة الكاغذ الجيّد الحسن ولمّا انحازوا الى البلاد الشرقية تفرّقت بهم البلاد وتقسّمت الممالك فصار للصين ملكٌ ولِقناى ملكٌ وليُغر ملك وبين هذه الممالك مسافاتٌ متنازحة

(19) والقاصد نحوهم للتجارة او غيرها يسلك من كاشغر الى ياركند فى اربعة [15a] ايام ومنها الى خُتَن فى أحد عشر يومًا ومنها الى كرويا فى خمسة ايام ومنها الى ساجو فى خمسين يومًا ومن هناك تفترق الطريق الى الصين والى قناى والى يُغُر فمَن قصد يُغور الذى هو مستقرّ تمغاج خان ملك الصين انحرف عن استقبال المشرق نحوَ الجنوب يمنةً وبلغ قامجو[b] ثمّ الى كلسين فى اربعين يومًا يتياسر فيها عنه بلاد خُجو[c] التى يُعرف منها شولمين وجينانجكث ومن هناك يدخل مملكة

a Ms. عن b Ms. فاقجو c Ms. حو

تمغاج خان وينتهى الى ينجور فى قريب من أربعين يومًا ووراء الصين أمّة تُعرَف بشرغول. ويُسمّيهم أهل الصين سنقو وهم من قتاى[a] على مسيرة شهرٍ فى نهاية العُمران بين الماء والأوحال. ويقال انّهم الذين يُسمّون ماجين والهند يسمّونه الصين العُظمى ومن قصد قوجو[b] وهو بلدُ يُغُرخان فانّه يتياسر عن ساجو ومن قصد أوجم قصبة قتاى مرّ على سَمْت المشرق فوصل الى موضع يقال له خاتون سَن[c] فى قريب من شهرين ثمّ الى أوتكين فى شهر ثمّ الى أوجم فى شهر ودور أوجم يُقارب فرسخين ويحيط بهذه المملكة قُضبانٌ مُحَقّفةٌ مغروزة الطرفين فى الأرض وهناك حفظة مُرتّبون فى كلّ فرسخين يُديمون الجَولان ويَقتفون الآثار ويقتلون من ظفروا به إذا خرج بغير أمرٍ ومنها الى البحر سبعة ايام

(20) والسالك نحو قتاى[a] يبلغ على مسيرة نصفِ شهرٍ من سانجو(؟) الى قومٍ من الشارية يُعرَفون باسم كبيرٍ لهم وهو باسمل تَهارَبوا اليها من الإسلام خوف الإختتان

(21) وملك قتاى[a] ويُغُر وإن تباعدت ديارهم عن ديار الإسلام وانقطعت السُبُل اليها لا يأمَنون جانبَ ملوكِ الإسلام وجنود المسلمين لِما سمعوا وشاهدوا من ظهور هذا الدين واستعلآئه واقتدار اهله على قمع أعدائه فهم يحتاطون لأنفسهم وبلادهم بسدّ الطريق وترتيب الحفظة

(22) ولمّا تَهيّأ للسلطان محمود رحمَهُ الله ما تَهيّأ من الاقتدار والاستيلآء على بلاد الهند وبلاد الترك استشعر منه صاحب قتاى وصاحب يُغُر فكتب اليه [15b] صاحب قتاى كتابًا هذه ترجمته :—

عن سَلامه(؟) الى امير خراسان محمود قراخان انّ ربَّ السماء خَوّلنا ممالكَ وجهِ الأرضِ العريضةِ وملّكنا نواصى الطوائف الكثيرة فنحن فى مقرّنا سالمون وبإرادتنا مُقتدون وليس فى جهات العالم أحدٌ ممّن أبصَرَ وسمع الّا وقد رغب فى مُخالّتنا والإتّصال بنا وأولاد

a Ms. قتاى b Ms. قوجو c خاتون سين

الأُخت أُمراء النواحى السُفلى يَتَواتر رُسُلهم وتَتّصِل الكُتُب والمهاداة منهم سَواءً. فانّه الى الآن لم يُرسِل ولم يوفِدْ ونحن نسمع تَخرُّجَه فى النجدةِ والبسالةِ وتقدُّمَه فى الاقتدار والجلالةِ وترأّسَه على الأُمراء بالمهابة وحيازتَه[a] الممالكَ بالبطش والأيدِ واستقرارَه بإرادته فى الوطن وكان من الواجب عند امتلاكه الزعامةَ أنْ يكتبَ بخبَره الى الخان الأعظم الذى ليس تحت السمآء أجلّ منه ويُطالعَ بحالِه وقد ابتدأنا نحن بذلك واقتصرنا على إنهاض هذا الرسول المُنيف دونَ مَن يَفوقه فى الحال والتجمّل لطول المسافة وامتدادِ المُدّة فى قطعها وإذ وقعَتْ الوُصْلة مع قدرخان بحُرّةٍ من صميم البيت زَوّجَتْ من ابنه جغرتِكين[b] واتّحدَ البيتان بها أمَرْنا قدرخانَ أن يُطرّقَ[c] لرسولنا اليه ولرسوله الينا من ذوى الحصافة والعقل والرجاحة لنُلقىَ اليه ما عندنا ونخاطِبَه بما لدَينا ونُقيمَ رسم المهاداة فى صحبته وكان الغَرَض فى إنهاض هذا الرسول قَلِتُنكا(!) انفتاح طريق الوصلة واتّصال عُرى المودّة وماحمِل من التذكرة الّا ثوبَى خويذ وثوب زونكى وثوب كنزى وثوبَى شكردى ذوى قطعين وخمسة عشر ثوبًا ذات قطعين من الحرير وفَرْوَ سمور يافو[d] ومائتى سمور وألفَى سنجاب وثلثين نافجةَ مسك وقوسًا مع عشر نُشّاباتٍ وكُتِبَ الكتاب فى سنة الفار

(23) وكَتَبَ اليه يُغُرخان كتابًا هذه ترجمتُهُ :— [16a]

عن سلامَتِنا الملك الجليل يُغُرخان الى السلطان محمود نَسألُه على بُعدِ الشُقّة كيف هو فى نفسه فنحن نُسَرّ بما نسمع من سلامته ونَتبجّح بما يتناهى الينا من استيلآئه على النواحى السفلى الى بلاد الهند وانّه يواصل ملوكَ العالم ويوادّ أصحاب الأطراف فتميل دولتنا الى مخالّة مِثلِه من مشاهير المبارزين ومذكورى كِبار الدنيا بالرمْى والشجاعة

a Ms. جبارته b Ms. يتكين c Ms. يطوق d Ms. يافو

فى الخافقين ونحبّ أن تتأكّدَ المودّة والكرامة فى البين ولهذا كان إرسال هذا الرسول ولئن شَسَعت الديار لقد تدانت القلوب ونريد أن نُزجّي باقي العمر على المكاتبة والتحابّ ليَبقى به حُسن الذكر على الأبد فإن رغب فيما رغبنا فيه كتب كتابًا ووجّه رسولًا لتتمهّدَ قواعد الألفة به وتتأكّدَ الأحوال بمكانه وقد توجّه من قتاى غلامٌ اسمه قلتُنكا فأنهضنا فى صحبته أحدَ أصحابنا حتّى إذا اتّفق توجيهُ أحدٍ الينا كانوا معًا فإنّ ممرَّ رسولِ قتاى فى منصَرَفِه على هذه النواحى ولم يصطحبْ شيئًا من الهدايا إذ لم يكنْ من الطريق على ثِقَة ولكنّا استظهرنا بغلام ونشّابةٍ للعلامة وسيؤدّى قاشى رسالتنا مشافهةً

وكُتِب فى الشهر الخامس

(24) فلمّا عُرِض الكتابان عليه ورأى ما فيهما من الرعونة لم يستجزْ من نفسه اسعافَهما بما يلتمسان من المصادقة والمكاتبة بحَسَب قوّة إعتقاده فى الإسلام وصَرَف الرُسُل وقال لهما إنّ السِلْم والموادعة انّما يكونان[d] لحَسْم الحرب والمقارعة وليس يجمعنا دينٌ نتواصَل به وبُعد المسافة يُؤمِّن كلّ واحدٍ منّا معرّةَ صاحبه ولا حاجة بي الى مواصَلَتكم قبل الاسلامَ والسّلام

(25) وكان ذلك فى سنة ثماني عشرة واربعمائة فامّا قولهم فى تأريخ الكتاب سنة الفار فإنّ للصين والترك وتُبّت(!) والختن دورًا يدور على اثنتي عشر سنةً ويعود عند منتهاه الى اوّله وتلك السنون مسمّاة بحيوانات معيّنة تختلف أسماؤها فى لغاتهم وأولاها يقال لها [16b] سنة الفار والثانية سنة الثور والثالثة النَمِر والرابعة الأرنب والخامسة لبنات الماء[a] والسادسة الحيّة[b] والسابعة الفرس والثامنة الشاة والتاسعة القرد والعاشرة الدجاجة والحادية عشرة[c] الكلب والثانية عشرة الخنزير ثمّ يعود الى الفار

a * ثعبان الماء b Ms. للحية c Ms. عشر d Ms. بكون

(26) فامّا الطريق الى الصين من جانب البحر فاوّل مرفأ من البحر[a] اليه بلدٌ يقال له لوقين[b] ثم مدينة خانفو[c] وهي أعظم من لوقين وهو مرفأ أعظم وبها نهر الماء عَذْبٌ كبيرٌ يخترق البلد وعليه جسورٌ وعلى احد جانبيه أسواق التجار الغرباء وعلى جانبه[d] الآخر أسواق اهل المدينة وأكثر من يقصدهم من التجّار الفُرس والعرب والفرس يركبون المراكب اليهم من سيراف والعرب من البصرة وفى هذه المدينة صاحب عُشر الملك يجمع امتعة التجّار ويأخذ منهم العشر ولاهل هذه المدينة وفاء وامانة وصدق لهجةٍ وهناك تُتّخذ الغضائر الصينية والكواغذ الحسنة التى يكون احد وَجْهَيها أبيض والوجه الآخر أصفر والحرير الصينى الجيّد ولباس اهلها الخفاتين ومن رسمهم ان كلّ واحد من اهل السوقين يخالط الآخر نهارًا ويتبايعون ويتعاملون فإذا غربت الشمس قُرِع الطبل فى الجانبين فينصرف كلّ فريقٍ الى مواضعهم فمن وُجِد بعد ذلك من الفريقين فى سوق غيره أُدّب وغُرِّم ومن بقي من الصينيّين فى سوق الغرباء وجنّ عليه الليل بات ليلته عندهم ولا يُطلَق للغريب أنْ يُخرِجَ رقيقًا منها من غلامٍ اوجاريةٍ على وجه الرق الّا أن يكونَ التاجر قد استولد جاريةً فيُخرِجها ولا يُمنع منه ويُحمَل اليهم من الإمتعة أنياب الفيل والفُلفل والحلتيت والزجاج واللازورد والزعفران والفولاذ وخشب الطرفاء والجوز وجميع الفواكه اليابسة كالتمر والزبيب

(27) وملكهم يُكرِم التجّار ولا ظُلمَ على احدٍ ممّن يَرِد ناحيته وهم بيض الوجوه كلّهم ليس فيهم [17a] أسودَ ولا أسمرَ وهم أشدّ بياضًا من الروم وأنصع ألوانًا وأرقّ بشرةً وملك خانفو[e] تحت يد ملك الصين واليه أمرُ الجيش والقتال ورسمُهم أنْ يأخذوا من التجّار الذين يَرِدون هذه المدينة من جميع ما معهم من كلّ عشرةٍ ثلثةً ويكون النصف منه

a Ms. بحر b * لوقين c Ms. جانقو d Ms. جانب e Ms. جانقو

لصاحب الجيش والنصف يُنفذ الى ملك الصين وإذا وصل المركب الى باب هذه المدينة خرج اليه الأمناء والكتّاب من اهل البلد فيكتبون عدد ما فى المركب من الرجال والنساء والصبيان والعبيد ثمّ يكتبُ اسم صاحب المركب واسم أبيه ويُكتب اسماء الذين معه من التجّار وتُكتب أسنانهم بأن يُسأل الرجل كم أتى عليه من السنين ومن ايّ بلدٍ هو ومن ايّ قبيلةٍ ثمّ يكتبون ويثبتون جميع ما فى المركب من الامتعة على أصنافه وأعزّ شئ يُحمل اليهم قرن الكركدنّ المسمّى ختو وهم[a] يسمّونه بشان فاذا أثبتوا جميع ما فى المركب أذنوا لهم بالنزول فاذا سكنوا فى الرحال يأتيهم الخصى الامين ويحملهم الى صاحب المدينة وكلّ مَن كان ثيابه أنظف وأحسن كان أكرم عندهم ثمّ يسألهم الملك عن احوالهم فى أنفسهم ومسيرهم فى طريقهم ثمّ يُبعثون الى منزل الخصى الامين ومنزله خارج المدينة فاذا دخلوا عليه يُوضع لهم كراسى فيجلسون عليها ويَسألهم عن أحوالهم ويُكرمهم ويقدّم لهم الفواكه ممّا يكون عندهم ويُسقيهم الشراب ثمّ يأمرهم بالانصراف الى رحالهم ويأمُر الوكيل من قِبله بحسن تعهدهم وتفقّدهم واسم الوكيل عندهم فاسام ثمّ يُخرَج ما فى المراكب من الامتعة ويُوضع فى بيوت ويَختِم عليها الامناء ويُمنع البيع والشرآء ستّة اشهر الى آخر وقت الريح فاذا علموا أن المراكب قد انقطعت وجاء وقت لا يَقدَم فيه احدٌ سلّموا المتاع الى التجّار بعدما أخذوا منه المكس وهو من كلّ عشرة ثلثة فيبيعونه كما يريدون وانّما يُمنع من البيع والشرآء فى الشهور الستّة ليحصل جميع ما يحمل [17b] اليهم ويتقرّر ثمنه فلا يقع بخسٌ وضررٌ بالبائع او بالمشترى لِأنّه ربّما كثر الامتعة فى سنة فيكسد وربّما قلّ فيعزّ ويباعاتهم بالفلوس بها يشترون جميع الامتعة

(28) وجميع اهل الصين عليهم جزيةٌ الّا النساء والصبيان وإذا ولد المولود فيهم يُكتب وقتُ مولدِهِ من ليلٍ او نهارٍ ويوضع المكتوب عند

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a Ms. خنوذهم

والده او قريبه كيلا يشتبهَ عليهم سِنّه وإذا بلغ مبلغ الرجال ضُربت عليه الجزية وليس يكاد يذهب على الملِك عددُ مَن فى مملكته من الرجال ومَن ماتَ منهم فإنّه لا يُدفَن إلّا فى السنة والشهر واليوم والساعة الّتى وُلِد بها فإن ماتَ فى اهله ومنزله صيّر فى نقيرٍ من خشب كهيئة التابوت ويُطرَح عليه أدوية تحفظ جثّته من النتن والتحليل إن كان موسرًا وإن كان مقِلًّا طُرِح عليه الصدف المسحّق بعدان يُسحَق حتّى يصيرَ كالذرور فينشّف رطوباته ولا ينتن وهذا النقير الذى يوضع فيه الميّت يمكث فى ارضهم الف سنة واكثر لا يكاد يعفن وإذا مات الرجل منهم فإنّ زوجته تُحِدّ عليه ثلث سنين وكذلك على ابنها وأخيها وإن ماتت المرأة تُحِدّ الزوج عليها كذلك ثلث سنين ويبكى الرجل والمرأة على موتاهم فى أوّل النهار ووسط النهار وآخره ما دام الميّت عندهم وإن لم يَبكِ واحدٌ منهم ومن الأقربا أُدِّب وضُرِب ويقولون إنّك قتلتَه اذ لم يحزنك موتُه وإذا جاء وقت دفنه وأرادوا حمله الى قبره إن كان موسرًا وَضعوا على الطريق من منزله الى موضع القبر أطعمةً وفواكه وشرابًا ويغطّونها بالدبابيج والحرير فإذا وُضِع فى القبر نُهبت تلك الأطعمة وربّما حُمِل معه إن كان ذا جدّة فاخِر دوابّه وثيابه فيمزّق على قبره ومَن مات من المسلمين عندهم ولا يكون معه وارثٌ أخِذ مالُهُ ووُضِع فى بيت مال الملك مكتوبًا عليه اسمُ صاحبه واسم أبيه وجدّه وتاريخ موته ويُنتَظَر به ثلث سنين [18a] وثلثة أشهر وثلثة ايّام فإن جاء وَليّه الى هذه الغاية يسلّم المال اليه واهل الصين يعرف بعضهم أعمار بعضٍ لا يشتبه ذلك عليهم لِأنّ كلّهم يكتبون ذلك وإذا مات أحدٌ عن صبيٍّ لا كافل له سُلّم الى أمناء الملك فى تعليمه وتربيته ويُنفقون عليه من بيت المال حتّى إذا أدرك تُضرَبُ عليه الجزية وإذا بلغ الشيخ ثمانين سنةً او سبعين أُجرى عليه من بيت المال وإذا أذنب ذنبًا يستوجب القتل او العقوبة عفى

عنه وإن كان بين رجلٍ وامرأةٍ خصومةٌ كانوا الى المرأة أمْيل و نساؤهم يغلبن على الرجال فى الصناعات والتجارات ونساؤهم مكشّفات الشعور و المُحْصَن منهم إذا زنى قُتِل رجلاً كان أو امرأةً ولا يُدرأ عنه الحدّ. وفى أسواقهم نساء يُعرَفْن بالزناء وللسلطان عليهنّ ضريبةٌ وهنّ من سَفَلتهم وسقاطهم وذلك فى مدينة سانجو(؟) وهى مدينةٌ كبيرةٌ

(29) فامّا المدينة العظمى التى يسكنها ملك الصين فتُسمّى خمدان ويقال أنّ [من] مدينة جينانجكث الى خمدان مسيرة اربعة اشهر سير الكلاء

(30) وبلاد الصين واسعةٌ والغالب على عامّتها استدارة الوجوه وفطوسة الأنوف[a] ولباسهم الحرير والديباج وعامّتهم يوسّعون اكمامهم ويطوّلون ذيولهم حتّى تنجرّ فى الارض (ودورهم واسعة مزوّقة المجالس بالتماثيل)[b] وجنودهم كثيرة وملكهم لا يكاد يبرز ولا يَصِل اليه احدٌ الا وزيره أوحاجبه ورؤس عسكره يرونه فى كلّ سبعة ايام مرّةً واذا ورد عليه رسولٌ من بعض الملوك أُدْخِل عليه فى وقت يأذن له ويقف وزيره عن يمينه ويقف الرسول بالبعد منه على حسب مرتبةِ مُرسِله ثمّ يسجد ولا يرفع رأسه حتّى يُؤمَرَ بذلك ثمّ يسأل الحاجب عنه فيُخبره عن حاله وعمّا وُجّه له ثمّ يأمر الملك له بتخت أثواب وجام من فضّة مذهّبة ويُصرف الى دار الرُسُل ويحضر كلّ يوم دار الملك [18b] ويتعدّى الى أن يجاب ويصرف

(31) والثر زروعهم أُفذآء فاذا قلّت الأمطار غلت أسعارهم وإذا ابتلوا بغلاء السعر وجّه الملك الى بيوت الاصنام ويأخذ الشمنية ويقيّدهم ويغلّهم ويهدّدهم بالقتل ان لم يأتوا بالامطار فلا يزالوا منكوبين الى انّ يأتى المطر

(32) وفى قصر الملك كوساتٌ وطبولٌ كثيرةٌ فاذا قرُب غروب الشمس قُرعَت الكوسات فإذا سمعوا ذلك بادر كلّ واحدٍ وتسارع الى منزله فلا يَبْقَى بعد غروب الشمس أحدٌ من خارج المدينة وتفرّق أصحاب

a Ms الانف b v. infra §38.

السلطان فى المحالّ والسِكك فإن وجدوا أحدًا خارج المنزل ضربوا عُنُقَه وطرحوا رأسه فى موضعٍ قد أُعِدّ لذلك مكتوبٌ عليه هذا جزاءُ مَن خلف أمرَ السلطان ومن حكمهم أن من سَرَق زيادةً على مائه فلسٍ وهو عشرة دراهم يُقتلَ ولا يُتركَ البتةَ

(33) وحوالى خمدان الذى هو مدينة الملك الملقّب بفغفور مائة وعشرون قريةً فى كلّ قريةٍ زُهاء الف رجلٍ مرتّبةً وللمدينة اربعة أبواب وإذا رَكِب الملك ركب معه ثلثون الف فارس ويقال انّ لملك الصين ثلثمائه وستّون مدينةً يُحمَل اليه كلّ يومٍ خراج مدينةٍ وكسوةٌ لخاصة بدنه وحاجةٌ يرضاها ومن سنّتهم أن لا يُتركَ أحدٌ يتربّصَ بالحنطة والحطب والملح والحديد بل يكونَ مطروحًا فى أسواقهم حتّى يُشترَى منها بقدر الحاجة وحوالى خمدان بحورٌ وفيها جزائر ومدنٌ يُؤدّون الخراج

(34) وساحل الصين مسيرة شهرين والبحريّون يقدّرون سيرَ المركب فى كلّ يومٍ إذا طاب الريح خمسين فرسخًا فعلى هذا التقدير يكون ساحلها ثلثة آلاف فرسخٍ على شطّ البحر واكثرها عامرٌ مسكونٌ ويقال انّ بها ثلثمائة مدينةٍ عامرةٍ

(35) وعن يسار بلاد الصين عند مطلع الشمس الصيفى خلقٌ كثيرٌ فيما[a] بين الصين والخرخير وهم اجناسٌ لها أسامى مثل ايرمر(؟) جوريبر(؟) تولمان مراحسكلى(؟) ماثى(؟) حساثى(؟) بوبوعى(؟) سكوى(؟) فورى(؟) وهم يتّخذون [19a] حُلى نسائهم من الوَدْع الأبيض ويجعلونها بدل اللآلى

(36) وذكر صاحب كتاب المسالك أنّ وراء الصين أمّة شُقر الألوان حُمر الشعور ويشتدّ حرّ الشمس عندهم وانّهم يسكنون أسرابًا قد اتّخذوها لأنفسهم فاذا طلعت الشمس عليهم دخلوا تلك الأسراب الى أن يقرُبَ الشمس من الغروب ثمّ يخرجون وهذا قولٌ فيه نظرٌ لأن شقرة اللون وحمرة الشعور تكون من إفراط البرد وقلّة

a Ms. مما

الحرارة كما فى الصقالبة والروس

(37) ومن سُنّة اهل الصين انّ الرجل إذا أذنب ذنبًا يستوجب العقوبة والتأديب فلا يُعاقَب الّا بعد أن يَعترف بذَنْبِه ويبذُلَ خطّه بذلك ثمّ يُعرَض خطّه على أُمناء الملك ويأمُرُ الملك بتأديبه على جنايته وكذلك إن أذنب ذنبًا استوجب به القتل فانّه لا يُقتَل حتّى يبذُل خطّه بانّه استوجب القتل ثمّ يُقرأ عليه خطّه بحضرة الجمهور حتّى يُقرّ به ثمّ يتوقّف ساعات حتّى يُنظَرَ هل ينكرون من عقله شيئًا فاذا اتّفقوا على صحّة عقله حينئذٍ قتلوه

(38) ومِن سُنّتهم انّ من خرج منها الى سفرٍ يكتبون اسمَه وما معه من الأموال والرقيق ثمّ إذا بلغ كلّ مسلحة يُقرأ المكتوب وصاحب المسلحة يكتب الى الخصى الذى هو امين الملك مرّ بنا فلانٌ بن فلانٍ يوم كذا[a] من شهر كذا[a] مع ماله ورقيقه سالمًا وانّما يفعلون ذلك صيانةً لاموال الناس ومن خرج منهم بغير إذنِ الملك ثمّ ظُهر عليه أُخِذ وحُبس وغُرّم وفى بعض بلادهم إذا اشترى الغريب جاريةً واوُلدها وأراد أنْ يُخرِجَها معه يُمنع من ذلك ويقولون لِمَ زرعتَ فى أرضِنا ومَن أذن لك فالآن خُذ زرعَك يعنى الولدَ ودَعِ الارضَ

(39) وهم يتباهون بنظافة الثياب ونُبل الدور وكثرة الأوانى ودورهم واسعةٌ مزوّقة المجالس بالتماثيل والنقوش وسككهم مغطّاةٌ بكنائس من خشب الشربين وكذلك اكثرُ أسواقهم وتُكنَس[b] فى كلّ يوم دفعاتٍ وتُرَشّ ويجعلون [ك19] عتبات دورهم مرتفعةً لِتمنَعَ القمامةَ من دورهم

(40) وإذا أراد الملك دخولَ بيتِ النساء والخلوة بهنّ صعد المنجّم الى سطح ذلك البيت الذى هو فيه ويرصد الكواكب ويختار له وقتًا لمباشرته بعض نسائه

(41) وفى أقاصى أرض الصين بلادٌ يقال لها سيلا كلّ مَن دخلها مِن

* تكنس؟ ك[b]   كذى .a Ms

الغرباء من المسلمين أو غيرهم استوطنها ولَمْ يخرُج منها البتّة لطيبها وكثرة خيرها وبها ذهبٌ كثيرٌ

واراضى الصين مابين بحر المحيط واراضى التغزغز والتبّت والخليج الفارسىّ

(49) و امّا التبّت فهى بلادٌ موضوعةٌ بين ارض الصين والهند والأرض الخَرْلُخيّة والتغزغز وبحر فارس(!) وبعضها فى مملكة الصين وبعضها فى مملكة الهند ولهم شَبَهٌ بالصين والترك والهند ولها ملكٌ مستقلٌّ بذاته ولغتهم تُخالف سائر اللغات ومن خاصية بلادهم انّ مَن دَخَلَ وسكنها يكون مسرورًا ضاحكًا أبدًا من غير أنْ يَعرفَ سببًا له ولا يُرَى فيها محزونٌ أبدًا ومن التُبّتيّة جنسٌ يقال لهم ارا[a] يسكنون بلادًا ومواضعَ يقال لها بالتبتيّة أخايل فيها آجامٌ ومروجٌ ومراعٍ لهم وهم مِن اهل المُلك إذا مات تبّت خاقان ولم يَبقَ له نسلٌ ولا من اهل الخاقانية أحدٌ اختاروا منهم رجلا وجعلوا له الخاقانيةَ و امّا الموضع الذى يقال له باب التُبّتين[b] فهو بابٌ منصوبةٌ بين جبل شِبيوَه ووادى خرناب على حائطٍ ضعيفٍ بُنِىَ من الشوك والتراب وبها مسلحةُ اهل التبّت يأخذونَ الباج من كلّ مَن سلك ذلك الطريق ويأخذون من كلّ اربعين واحدًا ومن التبتيّة جنسٌ يقال لهم ابك ربك[c] وهم فقراء ضعفاء ولهم معادن الذهب والفضّة بعضها فى الجبال وبعضها فى التُراب فالّذى منها فى الجبال يُؤخذ منه القطع الكِبار من الذهب مثل رؤس الحملان والجداء إلّا انّهم لا يحملون منها شيئًا ويزعمون انّ من أخذ منها شيئًا وقع فى بيته الموت فلا يزال كذلك حتّى يَرُدّهَ [20a] الى موضعه من الجبل فحينئذ يرتفع الموت عنهم والذى ينتفعون به من ذلك المعدن هو ما يلتقطون من التراب ومنه يُؤدّون الخراج وخراجُهم على رؤسهم وفوقَ رانك ربك جنسٌ آخَر من التبتيّة شِبْهُ الأتراك اصحاب

* رانك ربك c   * باب التبتّين ؟ ك[b]   * اخا a

مواشٍ وخيام ومن موضعهم الى حدود تبّت خاقان مسيرة عشرين يومًا وهناك موضعٌ يقال له زاب(؟) وفى هذا الموضع نهرٌ عظيمٌ أحدُ شطّيه وهو الّذى يلى المشرق حدّ الصين والجانب الغربىّ حدّ التبّت وتجّار الصين يحملون أمتعتهم الى شطّ هذا النهر ويعبرون الى الجانب الآخر فى مراكب قد اتّخذوها من الخشب والجلود ويُبايعون ويعاملون اهل التبّت وينصرفون فى يومهم ذلك

(43) وامّا المسك المنسوب الى التبّت[a] فهو أجود أنواع المسك وأذكاها رائحةً وهو سُرّة دابّةٍ تُشبه صغار[b] الظباء وانّها تهيج فى وقتٍ معلومٍ من السنة ويجتمع[c] فى سُرَرها دمٌ أسودُ يفيض اليها من سائر الجسد ويشتدّ الورم والوجع فى رأسها[d] وفى جميع بدنها فتأتى مواضعَ فى تلك البرارى قد اعتادت المرافقة فيها صائمةً عن العلف والماء حتّى تسقطَ سرّتها المتورّمة من كثرة الدم وربّما سقط قرنها ايضا ومنها ما تموت[e] هناك ومنها ما تبرأ وترجع الى المرعى ويجتمع فى تلك المرافقة سُرر منها وتأتى عليها السنون وقد جمد الدم ويبس واستحال مسكًا ثمّ يخرج شباب التبّت وقت الأمطار الى تلك المفاوز فربّما وقعوا على مرافقة فيها الوف نوافج فيلتقطون ما صلح منها وربّما خاب سعيهم

ألباب التاسع

فى الترك

(1) الترك امّةٌ عظيمةٌ كثيرة الأجناس والأنواع كثيرة القبائل والأفخاذ ومنهم ساكنو[f] البلاد والقرى ومنهم ساكنو[f] البرارى

a Ms. تبت b Ms. صيام c Ms. تجتمع d Ms. رأسه e Ms. يموت f Ms. ساكنوا

المفاوز

(2) ومن قبائلهم العظيمة الغزّيّة وهم اثنا عشر قبيلةً يسمّى بعضهم التغزغز[a] وبعضهم اى عر(!) وبعضهم اوح عر(!) وملكهم يسمّى تغزخاقان وله جنودٌ كثيرةٌ وكان لملكهم فى القديم [20r] الف شاكرىّ واربعمائة جارية وكانت الشاكرية يأكلون الطعام عنده كلّ يوم ثلث مرّاتٍ ويُسقون ثلثةً ثلثةً بعد الطعام ولا يَبرُز ملكهم للعامّة الّا فى الحين مرّةً ولهم رسوم حسنة فى السياسات وبعضهم ساكنو المدن وبعضهم ساكنو البرارى والصحارى أصحاب الخيام والخركاهات وبراريهم تحاذى بلاد ما وراء النهر وبعضها يحاذى أراضى خوارزم فلمّا صاقبوا بلاد الاسلام أسلم بعضهم فسمّوا التركمانيّة وصار بينهم وبين من لم يُسلم مُنابذة ثمّ كثُر المسلمون منهم وحَسُن اسلامهم وغالبوا الكفرة وطردوهم فتنحّوا عن خوارزم الى محالّ البجناكيّة وانتشر التركمانيّة فى بلاد الاسلام وأحسنوا فيها السيرة حتى ملكوا اكثرها وصاروا ملوكًا وسلاطين

(3) ومنهم فرقةٌ يقال لهم قُون أقبلوا من أرض قتاى وهم مستوحشون من قتاخان وهم نصارى نسطوريّة فارقوا مراكزهم لضيق المرعى عليهم منهم اكنجى بن قچقار[b] خوارزمشاه فاتّبعهم أمّةٌ يقال لهم قاى هم اكثر منهم عددًا وأشدّ قوّةً وأجلوهم عن تلك المراعى فارتحلوا الى ارض الشاريّة وانجلى الشاريّة الى ارض التركمانية وانتقل التركمانيّة الى مشارق الغزّيّة وانتقل الغزّيّة الى ارض البجناكية بالقرب من ساحل بحر ارمينية[c]

(4) ومنهم خرخيز وهم أمّة كثيرةٌ ومساكنهم بين المشرق الصيفىّ وبين الشمال وكيماك فى شمالهم وبغما وخرلخ فى مغربهم وكجا وأرك بين المغرب الشتوى وبين الجنوب ومن عادة الخرخيز أن يحرّقوا موتاهم ويزعمون انّ النار تُطهّرهم وتُنقّيهم وكان ذلك دأبهم

a Ms. التغزغز b * اكنجى بن قچقار c. * بحر الرومية *

في القديم فلمّا جاوروا المسلمين صاروا يدفنون الموتى وفي خرخيز رجلٌ من عامّتهم يُلقّب بفغنون يُستحضَرُ كلَّ سنة في يوم معلوم ويجمع عليه المغنّون واصحاب المزامير وما اشبه ذلك ويأخذون في الشرب والقصْف فإذا طاب مجلسهم غُشي على هذا الرجل وسقط كالمصروع ثمّ يُسألُ عن كلّ ما يحدُث [21a] في تلك السنة من الأحداث فيخبِرُ بما يكون من خِصْب وجدْبٍ ومطرٍ وقحطٍ وغير ذلك ويعتقدون انّ ذلك حقٌّ

(5) وفي ارض خرخيز اربعة أودية تجرى وتنصبّ في وادي عظيم يَنشرع فيما بين جبالٍ واغوارٍ مظلمةٍ وحُكي انّ رجلاً من خرخيز ركب سفينتًا وأرسلها في ذلك الوادي فسارت به ثلثة ايامٍ في ظُلَمٍ لم يَرَ في هذه الأيّام لا شمسًا ولا كوكبًا ولا ضوءًا[b] ثم تخلّص بعد ذلك الى ضياءٍ وفضاءٍ فخرج من السفينة فسمع وَقعَ حوافر الدوابّ فارتقى الى شجرةٍ ينتظر الحال فإذا هو بثلثة من الفرسان طوالٍ طول كل واحد منهم قيدُ رُمحٍ طويلٍ واذا معهم كلابٌ في عِظم البقرة فلمّا قربوا منه ورأوه ترحّموا عليه وأنزله أحدهم وأخذه على دابّته وستره عن الكلاب خوفًا أن تفترسه وأتوا به موضعَ رحالهم فألقوه فوق ظَهرِ خيمةٍ وأطعموه من طعامهم وجعلوا يتعجّبون منه كأنّهم لم يَرَوا مثله ثمّ احتمله بعضهم وأتى به الى قُرب موضعه وأرشده الطريق حتّى رجع الى موضعه ولا يُعرف أحدٌ ممّن كان هؤلاء وأيّ جنسٍ هم من الناس

(6) ومنهم الخَلْخيّة وكانوا يسكنون جبل تونس[c] وهو جبل الذهب وكانوا عبيدًا للتُخزغز واستعصوا عليهم وخرجوا الى بلاد التركسيّة[d] وغصبوها واستولوا عليهم وقهروا سلطانهم ومنها خرجوا الى بلاد الإسلام وهم تسع فِرَقٍ ثلثٌ جَكليّة وثلثٌ بعسكليّة(؟) وواحدٌ بُلاق وواحدٌ كوركين[e] وواحدٌ تخسى

(7) ومنهم كيماك وهم قومٌ ليس لهم قرىً ولا بيوتٌ وانّما هم أصحاب

a Ms. ياخذوا b Ms. ضوا c * توليس d * التركشيه e * كودركين(؟)

غياضٍ ومشاجرَ ومياهٍ وكلاءٍ ولهم بقرٌ وغنمٌ كثيرٌ ولا يكون عندهم إبل لأنّ الإبل لا تعيش في أرضهم أكثرَ من سنةٍ ولا يكون عندهم ملحٌ وربّما حمل التاجر اليهم الملح فيُشترى منه مَنا ملحٍ بفَرْوٍ وسمورٍ وغذاؤهم في الصيف لبن الرِماك وفي الشتاء اللحوم المقدّدة وتكثر الثلوج عندهم حتّى تقع الثلجة بقدر قامة رُمحٍ فإذا وقعت مثل ذلك نقل الكيماكيّة دوابّهم الى ناحية الغُزّيّة اذا كان بينهم صلحٌ وللكيماكيّة اسرابٌ [21b] قد اتّخذوا لشتائهم ويقيمون فيها ايّام البرد الشديد وإن أراد أحدهم الخروج لاصطياد السمور والقاقُم وغيره عَمِد الى خشبتين طول كلّ واحدةٍ منهما ثلثة أذرعٍ في عرض شبرٍ قد جُعل أحد رأسيه مرتفعًا مثل صدر السفينة ويشدّهما على رجليه مع الخفّ ثمّ يتّكئ عليهما فيتدحرج على الثلج شبيهًا بالسفينة التي يشقّ عُباب الماء

(8) وعلى يمين هؤلاء الكيماكيّة ثلث أُمَم يعبدون النيرانَ والمياهَ وهم يتبايعون مع الغرباء ويعاملونهم بالإشارة من غير أن يكون بينهم مخاطبةٌ باللسان بل يحمل الغريب سلعتَه على خشبةٍ ويجيئ الكيماكيّ(؟) فيضع عِوَض السلعة بإزائها فإن رَضي صاحب السلعة أخذ العوض وطرح ما على خشبته وإن لم يَرْضَ تَرَكه وأكثر ما يلتمسون الطساسير الشَّبَهية والجُرَب الحُمر وهم يصومون في السنة يومًا واحدًا ويُحرقون موتاهم ولا يَبكون على الموتى ويقولون إنّا نَرضى بقضاء الله تعالى

(9) وممّا يلي القبلة من كيماك(!) قومٌ يقال لهم النصريّة(؟) ولهم رئيسٌ على حِدَة ومساكنهم في المشاجر والغياض شتاءً وصيفًا

(10) والبجناكية قومٌ سيّارةٌ يتّبعون مواقع القَطر والكلاء وطول أرض بجناك مسيرة ثلثين يومًا في ثلثين يومًا قد أحاط بهم من كلّ جهةٍ أُمَم كثيرةٌ ففي ناحية الشمال منهم بلاد خفجاق[a] وفي ناحية الجنوب في المغرب بلاد الخَزَر ومن ناحية المشرق بلاد الغُزّيّة ومن ناحية

a Ms. خفجاق

المغرب بلاد الصقالبة و هذه الأمم يغزون البجناكية والبجناكية تغزوهم وللبجناكية ثروةٌ و دوابُّ و غنمٌ وأثاثٌ وذهبٌ و فضّة و أسلحةٌ وأعلامٌ وطرّاداتٌ وبين البجناكية والخزر مسيرة عشرة ايّام فى مفاوزَ ومشاجرَ وليس بينهم طريقٌ مسلوكٌ إنّما يقطعونه بالكواكب والعلامات و الاعتساف

طرادات جمع طراد رماح قصيرة

(11) وامّا الخزر فبلادهم عريضةٌ و يتّصل بأحدِ جناباتها جبلٌ عظيمٌ وهو الجبل الذى ينزل فى أقصاه فرقتانِ من الأتراك [22a] يقال لإحداهما طولاس وللأخرى لوعه[a] ويمتدّ هذا الجبل الى بلاد تفليس ومدينتهم سارعس[b] ولهم مدينةٌ أخرى يقال لها حبلج وهم يسكنون فى هاتين المدينتين شتاءً ويخرجون الى الصحارى عند اقبال الربيع فيصيّفون فيها جميع الصيف ومِلكهم يركب فى عشرة آلاف فارس إذا خرج فى وجهٍ و من رسمهم اذا خرجوا فى وجهٍ أن يحمل كلّ فارسٍ منهم عشرين وتِدًا من الطرفاء طول كلّ وتدٍ ذراعانِ فاذا نزلوا فى منزلٍ غرز كلّ واحدٍ منهم أوتاده فى الأرض بحياله و تُسنَد اليها الترسة ويصير حول المعسكر سورٌ فى اقلّ من ساعةٍ فلا يقدر احدٌ على مباينتهم[c]

(12) ومنهم برداس بلادُ برداس من بلاد الخزر و بينهم وبين الخزر مسيرة خمسة عشرَ يومًا وهم فى طاعةِ ملكِ الخزر ويخرج منهم عشرة آلاف[d] فارس وليس لهم رئيسٌ يضبطهم ويجوز حُكمه عليهم وفى كلّ محلّةٍ لهم شيخٌ يتحاكمون اليه فيما يقع بينهم ولهم أرضٌ واسعةٌ وهم فى مشاجرَ وهم يغيرون على بلكاره[e] وعلى البجناكية ولهم رُواءٌ و منظرٌ وأجسامٌ وإذا أدركت الجارية منهم تركت طاعة أبيها واختارت لنفسها مَن أرادت من الرجال الى أنْ يجئَ لها الى ابيها خاطبٌ فيزوّجها إن أراد ولهم خنازيرُ وبقرٌ ولهم عسلٌ كثيرٌ و اكثر اموالهم الدلق وهم صنفانِ صنفٌ يحرقون الموتى و صنفٌ يدفنون وهم فى ارضٍ سهلةٍ

a أوغز * b سارغسن * c Ms. ابايتهم d Ms. الف e Ms. بلكان

وأكثرُ أشجارهم الخلنج ولهم مزارع وسعة أرضهم مسيرة سبعة عشر يومًا فى مِثله وليس لهم ثمارٌ وشرابهم من العسل

(13) والمجغريّة قومٌ من الترك لهم أراضى كثيرة تبلغ مائة فرسخٍ فى مائة فرسخٍ ورئيسهم يركب فى مقدار عشرين الف فارس و يُسمّى رئيسهم كنده[a] وهذا الاسم شِعار لملكهم وهم اهل قباب يسيرون مع الكلاء والخصب وحدٌّ من بلادهم يتّصل ببحر الروم وهناك نهرانِ ينصبّانِ فى ذلك البحر أحدهما أكبرُ من جيحون ومساكن المجغريّة بين هذين النهرين واسم النهرين روما[b] وأتل وبلاد المجغرية ذات مشاجرَ ولهم [22b] مزارع وهم يغلبون على مَن يليهم من الصقالبة والروس ويسبون منهم ويحملون السبايا الى الروم فيبيعون هناك وللمجغريّة رُواءٌ و منظرٌ حسنٌ وجثثٌ ضِخامٌ ولهم ثروةٌ وأموالٌ ظاهرةٌ لكثرة تجاراتهم

(14) وامّا الصقالبة فهم أمّةٌ كثيرة وبين بلادهم وبلاد البجناكيّة مسيرة عشرة ايّامٍ فى مفازةٍ وأرضين غير مسلوكةٍ فيها أشجارٌ ملتفّة وعيون ماء وهم نزولٌ فى تلك المشاجر وليس لهم كرومٌ ولهم عسلٌ كثيرٌ وهم يرعون الخنازير وهم يحرقون الموتى لانّهم عبدة النيرانِ واكثرُ زروعهم الدُخن وشرابهم من العسل ولهم ضروب من المزامير ولهم مزمارٌ طوله ذراعانِ وعُودهم مسطّح عليه ثمانيه أوتارٍ وليس له النخف الآنّ ملاويه مستويةٌ وليس لهم سِعة فى المعيشة وسلاحهم المزاريق والرماح وتِرسةٌ حسنةٌ ورئيسهم الاكبرُ يسمّى شويت[c] وله خليفة يقال له شَريح(؟) وللملك دوابّ ومن ألبانها يكون طعامُه وتسمّى المدينة التى ينزلها خزرات(؟) وبها لهم سُوقٌ فى كلّ شهرٍ ثلثة ايام وعندهم يشتدّ البرد حتّى انّهم يحفرون أسرابًا عميقةً ويغطّونها بالخشب ثمّ يُسخّنونها ببخار الزبل والحطب و يقيمون فيها شِتوتهم وفى الشتا تغير المجغرية عليهم ولهم

a Ms. كنده b دوما؟ * c سويت؟ بلك *

رقيقٌ كثيرٌ ممّا يغير بعضهم على بعضٍ

(15) وامّا الروسيّة فهم يسكنون جزيرةً في البحر ومسيرة الجزيرة ثلثة ايّام في مِثلها وفيها مشاجرُ وغياضٌ وحوالنها بحيرةٌ وهم كثيرو العدد ويرون المعاش والكسب في السيف وإذا مات منهم رجلٌ له بناتٌ وبنون دفعوا ماله الى البنات وأفردوا البنين بالسيف ويقولون إنّ أباكم كان يكسب المال بالسيف فاقتدوا به واخلفوه فيه وكان نشؤهم على ذلك الى انّ تنصّروا في شهور سنة ثلثمائة(؟) فلمّا دخلوا في النصرانيّة أغمد الدين سيوفهم وانسدّ دونهم باب الكسب وعاد عليهم بالضرر والإفلاس وضاقت المعيشة عليهم فرغبوا في الإسلام ليُباح لهم الغزو والجهاد ويُنتعِشوا[a] [23a] بالعود الى بعض ما كانوا عليه فوجّهوا رُسُلاً الى صاحب خوارزم وهم اربعة نفرٍ من قرابين(!) ملكهم فإنّ لهم ملكًا قائمًا بذاتِهِ مستقلًا بنفسه ويلقّبُ ملكُهم بولادمير كما يلقّب ملك الترك بخاقان وملك بلغار بطلطو[b] فوردت رُسُلهم خوارزم وأدّوا الرسالة فسُرّ به خوارزمشاه حيث رغبوا في الإسلام فأنفذ اليهم من علّمهم شرائع الإسلام فأسلموا وهم أناس أقوياء اشدّاء يسافرون رجالةً الى المواضع النازحة للغزو ويسافرون ايضا في السفن في بحر الخزر ويغصبون المراكب ويسلبون الأموال ويسافرون الى قسطنطينية في بحر بُنطُس والسلاسل في خليجها ولقد سافروا مرةً في بحر الخزر واستولوا على بَرْدَعَةَ زمنًا وبسالتهم ونجدتهم معروفةٌ حتّى انّ واحدًا منهم يوازي عدّة من جميع الأمم ولو كان لهم دوابٌّ وكانوا فرسانًا لاشتدّ بلاؤهم على الناس

(16) قد ذكرنا من أجناس الترك وأحوالهم ما اشتهر وما استفاض من غير استقصاء وتطويل لأنّ أجناسهم وأنواعهم وسِيَرهم ورسومهم وعاداتهم اكثر من أنْ يُمكن استيفاءها بالذِكر والوصف

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a Ms. ينتعشون b ؟ بلطوار

(17) ولابقراط وجالينوس فيهم أقوالٌ فأحببنا أن نذكُرَ بعضها قال ابقراط انّ في ارض اوروفي[a] امّةً من أمم الترك يُشبه بعضهم بعضًا ولا يشبهون غيرهم وكذلك اهل مصر يشبه بعضهم بعضًا إلّا أنّ اهلَ مصر نشأوا في الحرارة والترك نشؤا في البرودة وقال جالينوس انّ الناسَ الّذين يُدعَون سورماطة هم الصغار الأعين الطِوال الألحاظ قال ابقراط إنّ أغذية الترك وعاداتهم يُشبه بعضها بعضًا فلهذا صاروا اشباهًا لأنفسهم دون غيرهم من سائر الناس فإنّهم لا يشبهونهم لا في صُورهم ولا في عاداتهم قال ولهذا مِن الحال صارت صُوَرهم غليظةً لحميّةً لا تُرَى لهم مفاصل وأبدانهم ليّنةٌ رَطْبَة لا قوّة لها قال جالينوس انّ بلادَ الترك باردةٌ رَطْبَة كثيرة المياه والصحارى [23b] والمعادن وانّ الترك فُرّاغٌ ليس لهم أعمال شاقّة يَتَشغّلون بها وانّما قال لا يُرَى لهم مفاصل يعني انّ مفاصلهم غائرة لا تُرَى لكثرة اللحم لِانّ المِزاجات الرَطبَة تولد لحمًا كثيرًا رطبًا باردًا سمينًا ضعيفًا فصارت مزاجات الترك لذلك رَطبةً باردةً

(18) قال ابقراط وتكون بطونهم رَطبةً جدًّا وتنفرغ انفراغات كثيرة وذلك انّ بطونهم لا يُمكن أن تجِفَّ وتيبَسَ في مثل هذه البلاد ومثل هذه الطبيعة والهواء قال وتكون أبدانهم دَسِمةً جدًّا جُردًا اضطرارًا وقال ايضا انّ هذه الطبيعة لا تكون كثيرة الولد لِأنّه لا تُهيّج شهوة الرجال الى النساء والمباضعة لحال رطوبة مزاجهم ولِلين البطن وبَردِه وقال في موضع آخَر انّ نساؤهم انّما تقِلّ أولادهنّ لِلين بطونهنّ ورطوبتها لِأنّ الارحامَ لا تستطيع ان تختطفَ المَنيَ وتجذبَه ولِأنّ طُهرَ النساء الكائن لهنّ في كلّ شهرٍ لا يكون لهنّ على ما ينبغي وذلك انّ طُهرَهنّ يكون قليلًا بعد زمنٍ طويل لِأنّ[?] أفواه الأرحام منهنّ منسدّة بكثرة الشحم وكما انّ أبدانهنّ كلّها سمينة كذلك لا محالةَ تكون أعناق أرحامِهنّ سمينة ولمّا كانت الاعضاء المهزولة

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a Ms. اُوروى

النحيفة منفتحة المنافذ واسعة المدخل فكذلك الأعضاء السمينة تكون ضيقة المدخل فلهذه العلل لا يحبلن كثيرا وقال جالينوس إن قلة حبلهن تكون من أسباب منها ضيق عنق الرحم ومنها إنهن [لا] يطهرن في كل شهر كما ينبغي ومنها ان القوة الجاذبة التي تكون في الرحم تكون ضعيفة بسبب البرد والرطوبة فيهن فلا تختطف المني بسرعة فينفسد المني قبل وصوله الى مسقط النطفة ورطوبته وقال جالينوس في موضع آخر ان نساء الترك لا يحبلن كثيرا لفراغهن ودعتهن فاما الاماء والولائد التي لهم فلكثرة حركاتهن وأعمالهن تنتفض أبدانهن وتخرج الفضول الرطبة التي فيها وتخف بها أرحامهن فيحبلن سريعا وتكثر أولادهن

(19) وقال [24a] ابقراط ان كثيرا من الترك ممّا ذكرنا ما فيهم يكونون كالخصيان لا يقدرون على النساء وهذا الذي ذكره قد يوجد ويشاهد في سكان بعض بلادهم فاما الذين يسكنون البراري والصحاري ويتنقلون شتاء وصيفا فهم أشد الناس بأسا وأصبرهم على القتال والحروب وهم فرقتان فرقة لهم أمراء وملوك يطيعونهم ويصدرون عن رأيهم وأمرهم وفرقة لا طاعة عليهم لغيرهم ولا يملكهم أحد وهم أشد بأسا ونجدة وبسالة وقد قال ابقراط ان من اهل آسية[a] من لا طاعة عليهم ولا يملكهم غيرهم مثل اليونانيين والترك فإنهم أحرار يملكون أنفسهم ولا يملكون عليهم غيرهم فيتحملون ويكدحون لأنفسهم لا لغيرهم وهؤلاء أشد إقداما وصولة وقتالا من سائر الناس ولصبرهم على محاربة من يحاربهم يأخذون الغنائم لأنفسهم بالسواء

(20) وقال جالينوس ان نساء هؤلاء يحاربن مثل الرجال وانهن يقطعن أحد الثديين لترجع القوة كلها الى الذراع وكي تخف أبدانهن و يثبن على صهوات الخيل وقد ذكر ابقراط هؤلاء النساء

a Ms. آشيه

amazones

في بعض كتبه وسماهن امازونيس[a] ومعناه ذوات ثدي واحد لقطعهن الآخر[b] ولا يمنعهن عن قطع الأخر الا حاجتهن الى رضاع اولادهن واستبقاء النسل وانما يقطعن الواحد لئلا يحبسهن عن رمي النشاب على ظهور الخيل

(21) واما الفرقة التي لهم ملوك وزعماء فهم قبائل كثيرة وهم الذين ذكرنا قبل[c]

الباب الثاني عشر

في الهند

(1) الهند أمة عظيمة كثيرة الأجناس مفتنة الأنواع متباينة الآراء والديانات وهم ساكنو الربع الجنوبي من الأرض المسكونة وبلادهم كثيرة ممتدة الأرجاء متقاذفة الأطراف الى منتهى العمارة حيث ينقطع الحرث والنسل وينعدم كون الحيوان

(2) واجناسهم المشهورة سبعة وهم الشاكبرية وهم أشرفهم جنسا يسجد لهم جميع الاجناس وهم لا يسجدون لأحد وفيهم الملك (3) ومنهم البراهمة وفيهم الرياسة دون الملك وهم يسجدون للشمنية [32b] والشمنية لا يسجدون لهم ومن جنسهم من لا يشرب الخمر والأنبذة (4) ومنهم الكشترية[d] لا يشربون فوق ثلثة ولا تزوجهم البراهمة ويتزوجون [منهم] (5) ومنهم الشودرية وهم أصحاب الزراعة والفلاحة تتزوج منهم الكشترية ويزوجونهم فاما البراهمة فيتزوجون منهم

a Ms. امازونيسم b Ms. الأخرى c ثم يليه باب الروم ويليه باب العرب ويليه باب الهند

d Ms. الكشبرية

ولايزوّجونهم (6) ومنهم البيشيّة[a] وفى جنسهم أصحاب الصناعات والمِهَن لا يزوّجهم احدٌ ممّن ذكرنا ولا يتزوّج منهم (7) ومنهم السنداليّة وهم أصحاب اللحون واللهو وفى نسائهم جمالٌ وربّما افتتن بهنّ البراهمة حتّى يتركوا دينهم من اجلهنّ ولا يمسّهنّ(!) أحدٌ من تلك الأجناس

(8) ومنهم الدُنبيّة قوم سُمْر أصحاب لعب ومعازف وهم فى طريق السنداليّة عند الناس والسنداليّة لا يختلطون بهم ولايزوّجونهم ولا يتزوّجون منهم

(9) واما آدابهم وعلومهم فمنها الرُقَى يزعمون انّهم يدركون بها ما أرادوا ويشفون بها السّمّ ويخرجونه ممّن سُقِى ويلقونه على غيره

(10) ومنها الوهم والفكر يزعمون انّهم يدركون بها العجائب ويفعلون بها فى الغائب ويحلّون ويعقدون ويضرّون وينفعون

(11) ومنها عمل النيرنجات وأخذ العيون واظهار التخاييل التى يتحيّر فيها الأريب ويُبهَر عقل اللبيب ومنهم السيمابندات[b] وهى الطِلسمات العجيبة التى يفعلونها ويُبدعونها ومنها ادّعاؤهم حبسَ المطر والبرد واقرارُ مَن هناك به لهم حتّى يُعطَى صاحب ذلك العلم فى كلّ سنةٍ شيئًا معلومًا

(12) ومنها علم الطب ودعواهم فى الطب الامورَ العجيبةَ فى حفظ الصحّة ومنع الشيب وزيادة فى القوة والذهن وابراء الأدواء المُزمنة الممتنعة

(13) ومنها علم الحساب والهندسة والنجوم وحِذقهم فيها

(14) ومنها علم اللحون واللهو واتّخاذ انواع المزاهر وعلم الرقص الذى لا يبلغ مبلغهم فيه غيرهم

(15) ومنها علم الحروب وضروب التعبيه وانواع [33a] الأسلحة والسيوف التى يُضرَب بها المَثَل فى الجودة مع ضروب الطبول والنايات والبوقات الموضوعة على صوت الفيل والأسد والببر وغير ذلك من الآلات التى صوتُها يُفزّع قلوب الرجال

(16) وفى هذا الجنس قومٌ يجاورون جبلَ الداير(؟) فى شرقى الهند فى بلاد يقال لها قامورc لهم حظّ من الجمال فوق ما لجميع الأمم

a Ms. البشيه   b Ms. السمابىداب   c قامرون(؟) *

(17) فامّا الملل والأهواء الّتى فى هذه الأجناس فهم تسع وتسعون فرقةً يجمعها اثنان وأربعون مذهبًا فمنهم من يُثبت العلاف(!) ويعترف بالأنبياء ومنهم مَن يُثبت الخالق وينفى الرُسُل والأنبياء ومنهم من ينفى الخالق والرُسُل ومنهم من ينفى الكلّ ويُثبت الثواب والعقاب وهم الشمنيّة

(18) ومنهم مَن قال إن الثوابَ والعقابَ التناسخُ فى السعادة والشقاوة والجنةَ والنار على قدرِ العمل بلا دوامٍ

(19) فممّن أثبت الخالق البراهمة زعموا انّ رسولَ الله اليهم مَلَكٌ من الملائكة يقال له باسديو أتاهم فى صورة البشر برسالةٍ من غير كتابٍ له أربع أيد فى إحدى يديه سيفٌ مسلولٌ وفى الثانية سكّة الفَدّان وفى الثالثة سلاحٌ يقال له شَكَرَة[a] على هيئة حلقةٍ كبيرةٍ حادّة الطرف وفى اليد الرابعة وَهَقٌ وهو على العنقاء وله اثنا عشر رأسًا كلّ رأسٍ يُشبه رأس حيوانٍ ولهم فى هذه تأويلٌ يطول تفسيره وقالوا إنّه أمرهم أنْ يتّخذوا على مثاله صنمًا يعبدونه ويطوفون حوله كلّ يوم ثلث مرّاتٍ بالمعازف ووُقودِ الدُخن وأنْ يعبدوا البقرَ ويسجدوا لها حيث لقوها وأنْ لا يجوزوا نهر كنك ولا دين لِمَن جاوزه من البراهمة

(20) ومنهم المهادويّة زعموا انّ رسولَ الله اليهم مَلَكٌ من الملائكة يقال له مهادوية(!) أتاهم فى صورة البشر وهو راكبُ الثور على رأسه إكليلٌ مكلّلٌ بعظام المَوتى متقلّد بقلادة منها بإحدى يديه [33b] قحفُ انسانٍ وبالأخرى مِزراقٌ ذو ثلث شُعَبٍ [و] يستظلّ بظلال من ذنب الطاؤوس أمَرهم بعبادة الله وأنْ يتّخذوا على مثاله صنمًا يعبدونه وهو سبيلهم الى الخالق ولا يَعافوا من شئ لانّ الاشياء كلّها من صنع الخالق و[أنْ] يتقلّدوا بأعظُم الناس ويتّخذوا منها أكاليل و[أنْ] يمسحوا وجوههم وأجسادهم بالرماد وأنْ يستروا من أوساطهم الى أقدامهم بخِرَق عرضها اصبعان على طول ما بين الكعب الى اوساطهم على ضروب من

a Ms. شكر   (gloss ارجد)

الألوان غير مركّبة ولا مخيطٌ بعضهم على بعض الّا عند اوساطهم محرّمٌ عليهم الذبائح والنكاح وجمع الأموال ومعاشهم من الصدقة وهم مهرة بعجيب الرُقَى

(21) ومنهم الكاباليّة زعموا انّ رسولهم مَلَكٌ من الملائكة يقال له شب اتاهم فى صورة انسانٍ يتمسّح بالرماد على رأسه قلنسوةٌ من لبود حمر طولها ثلثة أشبار مخيطٌ عليها صفائح من قحف انسانٍ قد تقلّد وانتطق وتسوّر وتخلخل من أعظم الناس بإحدى يديه قحف انسان وبالأخرى طبلٌ مثل المهادويّة وأمرهم أن يتّخذوا على مثال ذكر الانسان شيئًا مدوّرًا طوله ذراعان وقطره ذراع واسمه شيلندة[a] وتفسيره ذكر المبعوث وأنْ يعبدوا ذلك الذكر لزعمهم انّ سبب التناسل فى العالم الذكر فهم عراة ليس لهم الا قلنسوةٌ على ذلك المثال وقد علّقوا من طرف ذكرهم جرسًا عظيمًا ثقيلًا لا يُمكن معه الانعاظ لتحريمهم النساء لا يمرّون بأحدٍ من اهل ملّتهم الّا سجدوا له وحرّكوا ذلك الجرسَ المعلّق من ذكرهم تقرّبًا اليه ومنهم من يَثقُب جسدَه ثقبًا ويعلّق منها حَلَق النحاس أو اما الحديد أو الرصاص كما يُعلّقُ من الأذان قد رُكّب بعض الحَلَق على بعضٍ كأنّ عليه الدرع

(22) ومنهم الرامانيّة وكان رامان ملكًا جبّارًا فتعدّى طورَه وادّعى الرسالة وامَرَ قومه بعبادته وزعم انّ ذلك يُؤدّيهم الى رضاء الخالق وترّهاتٌ [34a] كثيرة

(23) ومنهم الراونيّة ذكروا انّهم استدلّوا براون على الخالق لقبوله توبَتَه والحَربة التى اعطاه فصيّروه نبيّهم

(24) وامّا الذين أثبتوا الخالق والثواب والعقاب و[ما] أثبتوا الرسالة فزعموا انّ اللهَ قد دعا الخلق الى عبادته ولَمْ يُحوجهم الى أحدٍ بما جَعَل فى قلوبهم من حُبّ الخير وبُغض الشر أن لا يأتوا

a Ms. شبلند b Ms. و

الى أحدٍ لا يَرْضَونَه من غيرهم فذلك شريعةٌ لهم فى عقولهم ولا حاجة بالله الى عبادة الناس وزعموا انّ الوصولَ الى الجنّة باستعمال العقول ومخالفة طبيعة الأبدان ومن هؤلاء مَن قال انّه لا يجزيه ذلك حتّى يعذّبَ جسدَه ويشغل طبيعته بانواع العذاب التى لا يكون معه فراغ للطغيان ولا تشوّف الى مجون[a]

(25) ومنهم من يزعم انّ إصابة الحقّ والهجوم على حقيقة الأمر فى اتلاف الأبدان والنجاة منها اذ كانت الأنفس تكتسب كلّ إثمٍ وهى التى تزيّن كلّ قبيحةٍ وتثبّط عن كلّ كريمةٍ

(26) ومنهم اهل ملّة الرشيّة وهم قومٌ عطّلوا الحواسّ بطول الفكر وزعموا انّه تجلّت لهم الملائكة حتّى استفادوا منهم ما وضعوا به الكتُب والآداب والرقى خاصّةً وموضعهم الجبال يتّخذون لانفسهم الاكنان من النبت والحشيش [و] يأكلون الثمر والحشيش عامّةَ دهرِهم مغمّضةً أعينُهم مجيلةً فكرَهم

(27) ومنهم النكربنتيّة[b] يعنى المصفّدون بالحديد يحلّقون رؤسهم ولحاهم لا يسترون من أبدانهم الّا العورة ويصفّدون أوساطهم الى صدورهم بالحديد لِأنْ لا تنشقّ بطونهم من كثرة العلم وليس يعلّمون أحدًا ولا يكلّمون حتّى يدخُلَ فى دينهم

(28) ومنهم اهل ملّة الكنكاباتريّة[c] هم متفرّقون فى جميع بلاد الهند من سنّتهم إذا أذنب رجلٌ ذنبًا او عقّ والدًا او اجترح سيّئةً شخص من حيث كان من أقاصى الهند وأدناها حتّى يأتي نهر كنك ويغتسلَ فيه فإنّ فيه كفارةً لذنبه إن مات فى سَفَره قَبل [34b] ذلك منه

(29) ومنهم الراجترتيّة(؟) وهم شيعة الملك فى دينهم خدمةُ الملوك وتأييد سلطانهم يقولون ما نصنع بالعذاب لأنفسنا بلا دفع مضرّةٍ ولا جَذْب منفعةٍ وهم أثقفُ امّة على الحرب بالسيف والترس وأصبرُهم عند اللقاء وأقلّهم جزعًا وأقنعهم باليسير الى وقت الاستحقاق

a Ms. مجور ? *مجور, b Ms. النكرسة c Ms. كنكاباتريه

(30) ومنهم البهادريّة (؟) ومن سُنّتهم تطويل الشعور وإرسالها من جميع جوانب الرأس بالسَّواء ويظرون من تحت شعورهم عليهم أقبية أخرجوا أيديهم من أكمامها فهى معلّقة بين أيديهم وخلفهم وعرّوا صدورهم و ظهورهم وشدّوا أوساطهم بالسلاسل مع كلّ رجلٍ منهم رجلٌ بيدِه تلك السلسلة يحفظُه ان يَهيمَ لِما قد أتاه من القوّة والأبد لشدّة دخوله فى الدين لا يشربون الخمر ويحجّون الى جبلٍ لهم يقال له جورعر ويتوجهون على بهادرز(!) ويمدحون حون[a] الذى اتّخذ الارض من جلد بهادرز والجبالَ من عِظامه والماء من دَمِه والشجر والنبات من شَعره و يزعمون انّهم كانوا ثلثة إخوة بهادرز وجون[a] ومرش

(31) ومنهم المهاكالكتّه[b] لهم صنمٌ يقال له مهاكال يزعمون انّه عفريتٌ يستحقّ العبادة لعظم قدره ولهذا الصنم أربع أيدى ولونه أسمانجون كثير الشَّعر كاشر الناب كاشف البطن على ظهره جلدُ فيلٍ يقطر منه الدم وفى أذنيه ثُعبانانِ مع ترهاتٍ أُخَر

(32) ومنهم الديوياترية[c] ومن سُنّتهم أن يتّخذوا صنمًا يحملونه على عَجَلٍ قد ضُرب فوقه قبّة رفيعةٌ ويجرّون العجلة ويطوفون به على الناس معهم المعازف وضروب اللعب ولا تبقى يومئذٍ زانيةٌ فى البلاد الّا حضرت مع الثرهنّ رجّالةً بين يديهنّ وهنّ على الفيلة والخيل عليهنّ الحُلِى النفيس الكثير فلا يزالون يطوفون به وذلك فى فصل الربيع ثمّ يردّون الى موضعه ولهذا الصنم خزائن فيها صُوَرُ وُجوهِ الناس ممّن مضى من الملوك ورؤساء البلد واصحاب الملك وصُوَرُ الدوابّ والطير والسباع فيلبسهم [35a] الناس فى ذلك اليوم وهو عيدٌ لهم فإذا انقضى العيد رُدّ ذلك كلّه الى خزائنه

(33) ومنهم الدهكلتّة[d] ومن سنّتهم أن يتّخذوا صنما على صورة امرأةٍ على رأسها تاجٌ وفيما بين أيديها سيفٌ مسلولٌ وأشياء أُخَر

a Ms. حون b Ms. المهاكالنكبية c Ms. الديواترية d الدهكلينية ؟

من الأسلحة وغيرها فاذا دخلت الشمس الميزان يتّخذون عرسًا وعيدًا عظيما بين يدى الصنم ويجمعون من الثياب وافصان الشجر ما قدروا عليه وكذلك انواع الطيب ويأتون بالقرابين من الغنم والبقر والجواميس ويطرحون لها العلوفة فاذا طامنت رؤسها ضربوا أعناقها بالسيوف بين يدى الصنم ويقتلون مَن أصابوا بالغلبة[a] قربانًا له حتّى انّ الناس يتحرّزون من الغلبة[a] فى تلك الأيّام واما ملوكهم فانّهم يأخذون رجلًا أشقرَ أزرقَ وينصبون[b] بين يدى الصنم خنجرًا أو شيئًا مِثلَه ويأمرون بالسجود للصنم على الخنجر وقد شُدّ كتافًا فاذا وصل جبهتُه الى الخنجر ضربوا على رأسه ضربةً يدخل الخنجر بها فى رأسه حتّى يَصِلَ الى دماغه ويعتقدون انّهم ينالون به ثواب الدنيا والآخرة ثم يحترفون وبهم سرورٌ عظيمٌ ولهوٌ ولعبٌ وأكلٌ وشربٌ وهذه ملّةٌ مذمومةٌ عند جميع الهند

(34) ومنهم الجلهكتّة يعنى عُبّاد الماء وهم يزعمون انّ مع الماء ملكًا وانّه اصلُ كلّ نُشوءٍ وبه قِوام الحيوة وبه يكون البقاء والعمارة و الولادة والطهارة ويدخل الرجل فيه الى وَسَطه ويقوم فيه ساعتين أو أكثرَ وبيده انواعُ الرياحين ثم يُقطّعها[c] صغارًا ويرمى القطعةَ بعد القطعةِ فى الماء وهو يسبّح ويقرأ فإذا أراد الانصراف اخذ من الماء فقطّره على رأسه وعلى ما ظَهَرَ من بَدَنِه ثم يسجد له وينصرف

(35) ومنهم الأكنهوطريّة وهم عبدة النيران ويحفرون لها أخدودًا مربّعا ويجتمعون عليها ويطوفون حولها ويطرحون فيها من الأطعمة والكسوة والطيبْ والذهب والفضّة والجواهر ما وجدوا ولهم ملوكٌ وعظماء ويقولون انّ النارَ اشرفُ العناصر الاربعة وأكرمُها جوهرًا و يثلبون [35b] مَن أحرقَ نفسَه بالنار ويقولون إنّه نجس النار

(36) ومنهم فرقة يعبدون القمر ويقولون انّه مَلَكٌ من الملائكة

a الغيلة b Ms. ينصب c Ms. يقطعه

ويتّخذون له صنمًا على عَجَلٍ يجرّه اربعة [بُطوط] ويد الصنم جوهرٌ وهم يصومون النصف من كلّ شهر ولا يُفطرون حتّى يَروا الهلال و يصعدون السطوح عند الهلال ويدخّنون الدُخَن وينظروا اليه على وجهٍ حسنٍ ثمّ نزلوا وأفطروا ولعبوا ورقصوا بين يدي الصنم

(37) ومنهم قومٌ يعبدون الشمس وقد اتّخذوا لها صنمًا يجرّه اربعة أفراس ويد الصنم جوهرٌ على لون النار ويزعمون انّ الشمس مَلَكٌ من الملائكة ويتقرّبون اليها بالسجود والطواف والدُخَن وأنواع المزاهر وله ضياعٌ وغلّاتٌ ولهم فيه ضروب من التهاويل والفِتَن

(38) ومنهم البهابريّة (؟) ومن سنّتهم انّ الرجل منهم يدخل المقابر ويحمل من الموتى أفظعهم حالاً لأنّهم لا يدفنون موتاهم ثمّ يدخل البلدَ ويوبّخ الناس ويُنادي ويقول أيّها العصاة المذنبون الذين أسَرهم الحواسّ واستعبدهم الطباع حتّى مَتَى تنكحون أمّهاتكم وتقتلون آباءكم ومثل هذا الضرب من الكلام

(39) ومنهم الحبرابراذهريّة[a] يعني الذين يلبسون ورقَ الأشجار وهم فرقةٌ يسكنون الغياض ويلبسون ورق شجرٍ يقال له حبر[b] واوراقه عِراضٌ كالثوب الواسع ولا يخالطون الناس ويَبرُزون للرياح والمطر ويقولون إنّا نعتاض بهذا ريحَ الجنّة والفوز فيها بالحور العين وملابس الجنّة

(40) ومنهم الامبركحريّة[c] يعني المتشبّهون[d] بالوحش يمشون على اربعة ويأكلون الحشائش بأفواههم لا يحلقون رؤسهم ولا يستعملون حيلةً في دفع ضرٍّ كأنّهم الوحش ولهم سوى ذلك طُرقٌ ومذاهبُ شنيعةٌ

(41) ومنهم فرقةٌ يحرقون أنفسهم بالنيران ومنهم فرقةٌ يغرقون أنفسهم في الماء ومنهم فرقة يمتنعون من الطعام حتّى يموتوا فربّما ماتوا في عشرين[e] يومًا وربّما بقوا الى ثلثين يومًا [36 a]

a * الحبرابْراذهريّة b * حبرَ c * الأمبرّاجريّة d Ms. المتشبّهين e Ms. العشرين

(42) ومنهم فرقةٌ يَهيمون على وجوههم في البراري حتّى يموتوا ومنهم مَن يرمي نفسه من جبلٍ شاهقٍ عندهم وقد نُصب تحت الجبل شجرةٌ من الحديد لها شُعَبٌ وشجونٌ محدّدة فيطرح نفسه عليها من الجبل حتّى ينقطعَ قِطعًا

(43) ولهم مقالاتٌ كثيرةٌ في النبّوة والتوذسفيّة(!) يَهذون بها واكثرهم يعتقدون التناسخ

(44) واكثر ملوكهم يرون الزناء مباحًا الّا ملكُ قمار فانّه يحرّم الزناء وشرب الخمر ويُعاقب عليهما بالقتل وليس احدٌ من ملوكهم يُطنب في شرب الشراب الّا ملكُ سرنديب فانّه يُدمِن الشرب ويُحمَل اليه الشراب من بلاد العرب

(45) ووراءه ملكُ رتبلا[a] ويقال له فاندي[b] ثمّ يليه ملكٌ يقال له المارطي(؟) ثمّ يليه ملكٌ يقال له الصلمان[c] وهو أعظمُ من الذين ذكرناها واكثر جيشًا وجيشه يبلغ مبلغًا عظيمًا إلّا انّ فِيلته قليلةٌ غير انّ الهند يقولون انّ فيلةَ الصلمان أجرأ على القتال وأقوى من جميع الفيلة ويقال انّ عنده من الفيلة ما يزيد سَمكه على عشرة أذرع وقيل انّ فيلته لا تزيد على تسعة أذرع الّا انّ دونه بلادًا يقال لها الأغباب وملكهم كانت امرأةً في القديم ولها من الفيلة ما يزيد سَمكه على عشرة أذرع الى احد عشر ذراعًا

(46) وبعدهم ملكٌ يقال له بَلهرا[d] في بلادٍ يقال لها الكُمْكَم[e] وهي مملكةٌ واسعةٌ كثيرة الرجال ومَن حوله من الملوك ينقادون له

(47) وفي هذه المملكة ملوكٌ فمنهم ملكٌ يقال له الطاقن[f] وهو قليل المملكة إلّا انّه كثيرُ المال عامرُ البلاد واهل مملكته سُمرٌ وبيضٌ و[فيهم] جمالٌ مستفيضٌ ورقيقُ بلادهم فيهم جمالٌ لا يشركهم فيه غيرُهم

(48) وبعده ملك يقال له بجابة[g] وهو شريفٌ فيهم وبَلهرا الذي هو الملكُ الكبير يتزوّج منهم ولا يتزوّج من غيرهم وفي غياضهم الصندل الأحمر

a Ms. ربلا b Ms. فالدى c Ms. الصلمان d (؟) * بَلْهَرا e Ms. الكملى f Ms. الطافر g يقال له مجابه

(49) ثمّ يليه ملكٌ يقال له الجُزر[a] وفى مملكته عدلٌ وأمنٌ حتّى لو طرح الذهب فى وسط الطريق لا يجسر أحدٌ ان يأخذه وبلاده واسعةٌ والتجّار من بلاد العرب يقصدونهم فى التجارات ويعاملونهم ويُروى عنهم [36b] حُسن المعاملة والإحسان والمَبَرّة ومعاملاتهم بقطع الذهب والدراهم التى يقال لها الطاطرية عليها صورةُ الملك وزنُ كلّ درهمٍ مثقالٌ وإذا تجرّت تجارتهم بَعَثَ الملك معهم من يحفظ متاعهم ويخرجهم من بلاده.

(50) و[ليس] بعده ملكٌ آخر أوسع حالاً منه وأصدق عدلاً وهو يقول للتجّار والسابلة أخرجوا حيث شئتم فإنْ حدث حادثٌ وخسرتم شيئًا فخذوا منّى وانا ضامنٌ لكم وله جيشٌ كثيرٌ وفِيلة كثيرةٌ وهو يقاتل بلهرا وغيره من الملوك

(51) وبعده ملكٌ يقال له دهم* وله جيشٌ عظيمٌ جرّارٌ تزيد عدّتهم على ثلثمائة ألف ولا يخرج إلا فى الشتاء لئلا تقصر المياه عن حاجتهم لأنّهم يستنزفون[c] الأودية وفى بلادهم القطن الجيّد الذى لا يكون فى غيرها مثله ومنه تُتّخذ المناديل التى يقال لها "شاره شاهى" وغيرها من الثياب التى إذا أُدرجت تسع حلقة الخاتم

(52) وبعده ملكٌ يقال له قامرون ومملكته تتّصل ببلاد الصين وهو ملكٌ قليل الجيش وفى بلاده أراضى ينبت فيها الذهب قطعًا مثل أكفّ الإنسان وذهبهم أجود من ذهب الصين وهؤلاء الملوك كلّهم مخرّمو[d] الأذان

(53) وللملك المسمّى دهم بلادٌ كثيرةٌ وفيها مدينةٌ يقال لها هدكيرة ولها سوقٌ نحوٌ من فرسخ وفيها يكون الكركدّن والبقر المسمّى غرشغاو وبلاده متّصلة بساحل بحر الأغباب وهو بحرٌ خبيثٌ وعلى سواحله مدائن كثيرةٌ واسعةٌ ويتعاملون فيها بالذهب والودع إلّا انّ الودع عندهم أروج من الذهب ويسمّونه الكنبج(؟) وفيها أنهارٌ تنصبّ فى

a Ms. الحرر b (؟) * دهرتم c Ms. يستنزفون d Ms. مجزمو

البحر فيها المدّ والجزر من الماء العذب

(54) وتليه بعد ذلك فرقةٌ يقال لها بنو المنبّه ويزعمون انّهم ولد سام بن لؤىّ وهم ملوك الهند ويخطبون لإمام المسلمين وبلادهم تلى المنصورة ودخلُ هؤلاء الملوك من مال الصنم بالملتان له دخلٌ عظيمٌ وأمواله فى أيدى بنى المنبّه وهم يستظهرون بتلك الأموال ويتغلّبون [37a] على ملوك الهند وهذا الصنم فيما حُكى طوله عشرون ذراعًا وأكثر وهو على صورة رجلٍ وفوقه سقفٌ عظيمٌ والهند يزعمون أن هذا الصنم نزل من السماء وأُمرنا بعبادته وإنّ السقف بُنى منذ ألفى سنة وله سدنة يقومون عليه والهند كلّهم يرون الحجّ اليه ويحجّون اليه من مسيرة سنةٍ او سنتين فيحلقون رؤسهم عنده ويطوفون سبعًا على اليسار ويتمرّغون بين يديه ويتضرّعون ويخضعون وللصنم اربعة أوجه حيث ما داروا استقبلهم وجهٌ فإذا طافوا به سجدوا له عند كلّ وجهٍ وإذا مات الرجل منهم موسرًا أوصى للصنم بشطر ماله او بجميع ماله ومنهم من يحمل اليه المال من مسيرة سنة ومنهم من يستأذن الصنم فيقول ائذن لى فى الموت ثمّ يقتل نفسه بين يديه وله سدنة لا يأتون النساء ولا يذبحون شيئًا ولا يلبسون الا الثياب النظيفة ويتطيّبون اذا صاروا الى الصنم وإذا دخل اليه الداخل جثا على ركبتيه ويبسط كفّيه ويسأله ان ينظر اليه ويرحمه ويبكى ويتضرّع وللصنم مطبخٌ يُطبخ فيه كلّ يومٍ انواع من الطبيخ ويُطيَّب ثم تُبسط بين يديه ورقةُ موزٍ وهى عريضةٌ جدًّا ويضعون عليها[a] الأطعمة مقدارَ قامةِ الرجل فيطوفون حول بيت الصنم بالصنوج والطبول والمزامير وربّما دارت حوله مائة جارية ويقف عند الطعام واحدٌ من السدنة ويروّح بورق موز كأنّه يبرّد الطعام ويُغلق باب البيت ثمّ ينادى ويقول قد أكل فإنّه لا يأكل بيده ثمّ يفتح الباب ويقول قد تصدّق به ولم ينقص منه شئٌ ثم يُطعم منه كلّ من حضر

a Ms. عليه

من الناس و الدوابّ و السباع و الطيور ولا يُمنَع منه أحدٌ و يقولون انّ ذلك صدقته فى كلّ يوم

(55) ويحكون ايضا انّ بِوادى الجنح[a] بيتَ صنمٍ آخر قديم البناء وانّ اهل مملكة دهم الملك يحجّون اليه وانّما تقصده العُبّاد منهم فيأتون و هم عراةٌ مهازيلُ قد غارَتْ أعينهم و قُحِلت جلودهم من كثرة الرياضة فيطرحون انفسَهم [37b] بين يَدَيه و فى ذلك الموضع نسورٌ ضاريةٌ تعوّدت أكلَ جيفِ الناس ومنهم من يتماوَتُ هناك حسبة[b] فتأتى النسور و تقلع أعينهم اولاً وهم يصبرون على ذلك ثم يقلعون اللحمَ اوّلاً فاوّلا حتّى تأتى على جملته وربّما بقرَت بطونهم و تأكل أمعاءهم وهم يرون ذلك تقرّبًا و عبادةً

(56) ووراء هذه المملكة ملِكٌ يقال له الطرسول واهل مملكته كثيرٌ و مدائنه كثيرةٌ وهم بيضٌ ولهم شعورٌ طويلةٌ يُسدِلونها ولهم خيلٌ كثيرةٌ ودوابٌّ و مملكةٌ واسعةٌ ووراءهم ملِكٌ يقال له الموسه ومدائنه مبنيّةٌ بالحجارة وعندهم مسكٌ كثيرٌ ووراءه ملكٌ يقال له المانك تتّصل مملكته ببلاد الصين ويقال إنّ هذه الملوك الثلثة الطرسول والموسه ومانك (!) يقاتلون الصين ولا يُقاوِمونهم لِانّ مِلكَ الصين اكثرُ جُندًا و أقوى سلطانًا واوائل بلاد هذه الممالك وأواخرها متّصلةٌ ببلاد الصين و ملوك الهند كلّهم يلبسون الحُلى و الجواهر و القلائد و الأسوِرة والوشاحين

(57) و من مملكة دهم بلدٌ يقال له اورفنشين على ساحل البحر ومُلكها كانت فى القديم امرأة يقال لها رانيه[c] ومملكتها وَبيئةٌ و اكثر مَن دَخَلها من الهنود ماتَ و فيها للتجّار ربحٌ كثيرٌ وكانت ملكتُها مَكّارةً يعجز من قتالها دهم مع كثرة جيشه و شدّة شوكته و كانت تُحارب بنفسها وهى عظيمة الجثّة لم يَرَ أحدٌ فى عِظمها

a Ms. الجنح b Ms. حسنة c Ms. رانه

(58) فهذا ما عُرف من سواحل بحر الأغباب وسكّانها ثم يتلوها بلاد الزابج و الملك الكبير بالزابج يقال له المهراج و تفسيره ملك الملوك و بلاده جزائرُ ولا نعرف مُلكًا اكثرَ خيرًا منه ولا أقوى عُدّةً وجيشًا ولا اكثرَ دَخْلاً ويقال إنّه يَدخُل له كل يومٍ من قِمار[*] الدُيوك خمسون منًا ذهبًا لِأنّ ذلك يكثر فى بلاده وكلّ ديكٍ غلب يكون فخذُه للسلطان فيفتدى صاحبُه ذلك منه بدينارٍ [او] أقلّ أو اكثرَ ويقال انّ دخله يبلغ كلّ يومٍ مائتى مَنًا(!) ذهبًا وله جزائرُ كثيرةٌ ومن جزيرةٍ يقال لها برطايل [38a] و اهل البحر يقولون انّ الدجّالَ فيها واهل هذه الجزيرة حِسانٌ وجوهُهم كالمَجانّ المطرقة[a] يفتلون شعورَهم كاذناب ذوابّ البريد ويُسمع فى الجزيرة أصواتُ المعازف بالليل ويَرون وُقود النار و يسمعون أصوات الناس واهل المهراج يَتحالفون بالنار فاذا تخاصَمَ اثنانِ عند السلطان يأخذون حديدةً قدرَ رطلٍ و يُحمونها بالنار حتّى يتطايرَ منها الشرر ثمّ تؤخَذ أوراقٌ من شجرٍ عندهم يشبه الغار فيوضع على كفّ المدّعى عليه منها تسعُ ورقاتٍ ثمّ تؤخذ الحديدة المُحماة بالكلبتين و توضع على تلك الأوراق فى الكفّ فيمْضى بها سبع مرّاتٍ ذاهبًا وجائيًا فى مقدار مائة خطوة فإن احترق الأوراقُ وكفّه جميعًا لزِمَه الذنب فإن كان يوجب القتل قُتِل وإن كان الذنبُ يوجب الغرمَ فإن كان موسرًا يَغرم المال وإن كان مُعدِمًا يصير عبدًا للسلطان يبيعه كيف شاء

(59) ومن أحكام الهند انّ من ذبح بقرة يُقتَلُ بها[b]

(60) و حدّثَ بعض من دَخَل بلاد الهند قال حَصَلْتُ بالقندهار[c] فاذا ملكهم جبّارٌ شديد العقوبة شديد الغَيرة ولِمن شرب الخمر مِن قوّادِه وجيشه فعقوبتُه أنْ تُحمى مائة حلقةٍ من حديد بالنار ثمّ توضع على يَدَيه فربّما هلك فيه ومن عقوبته قطع اليدين و الرجلين و الأنف والأذنين و الشفتين واذا ظفَرَ بواحدٍ ممّن يُقاتِله يَقطع أُذنيه وشفتيه ثمّ

a Ms. المطوقة b Ms. به c (؟) * قِمار

يُطلقه و يقول إنّه لا يصلح للمُلك بعد ذلك و مَن دخل بلاده و أهدى اليه شيئًا كافاه باضعاف ذلك لأنّه يُعطى للواحد مائة

(61) و اصل العُبّاد فى الهند من قمار و يقال إنّ فيها مائة الف عابد وهم الرمادية(؟) أصحاب تسبيح وقال جلستُ الى واحدٍ منهم فتنحّى عنّى قليلاً لأنهم لا يقربون [من] المُسلمين و يقولون انّكم اذناش لأنّكم تأكلون لحم البقر ورأيت يومًا بعضهم و قد جاءه رجلٌ من عبّادهم الكبار فجعل يتكلم بالهندية بكلامٍ فهمتُه كان تفسيره يا من ليس [تا 38] كمِثله شئ فصحتُ و قلتُ أتعرفُ ما تقولُ؟ و قال واعجباه! وأنتم تعرفون ما قال؟ قلتُ نعم إذا كنتم تعلمون انه ليس كمِثلِه شئٌ فلِمَ تعبدون الأصنام من دونه؟ فقال انه قِبلتُنا كما انّ قِبلتكم حجارةٌ مبنيةٌ منضّدةٌ فانتم تعبدونها!

(62) ولِملك قمار جبلٌ يكون فيه العود وهؤلاء العُبّاد يكونون فيه وهو جبلٌ طويلٌ عريضٌ ولملك قمار قضاةٌ عِدّةٌ يقضون بين الناس فلو ورد ولدُ الملك اليهم فى خصومة أجلسوه بجنب خصمه وحكموا عليه بما يجب فى دينهم غير مائلين عن الحقّ بشئ البتّة ومملكة قمار ليست بكبيرةٍ كسائر ممالك الهند الّا انّ ملِكه عظيمُ القدر مظفّرٌ و الفيلة عنده كثيرةٌ و عطيّتُه للعرب أنياب الفيلة

(63) و يلى مملكتَه بلادُ الأرهى[a] وهم بيضٌ و فيهم جمالٌ وهم يزوّجون ابناءهم كما يزوّجون بناتِهم و يرون ذلك مصلحةً

(64) و فى اراضى لوهور مدينةٌ يقال لها رامسان فيها صنمٌ مضطجعٌ و حوله اصنام قيامٌ و فيها صنمٌ من صفرٍ مموّهٍ بالذهب و هو صنمهم الأعظم وله غلّاتٌ كثيرةٌ من العقار و الحوانيت فى السوق وله ثلثون قحبةً تجرى عليهنّ الجراية من غلّاته و الناس يتمتّعون بهنّ مجّانًا و يُطلبُ[b] به الثواب ولا يبرحن من موضعه الليل والنهار

(65) و تلى هذه المدينة مدينةٌ يقال لها جالهندر و فيها[c] صنمٌ له غلّات

a. ؟ *الارمن b Ms. يطلبون c Ms. فيه

كثيرة و قرى وبيوت قحاب و هذه المدينة من حدود الراى الكبير

(66) وتليها مدينةٌ يقال لها سلابور(؟) و هى ايضًا من حدود الراى الكبير و فيها تجّارٌ و أموالٌ كثيرةٌ جدًا و فيها بيوتُ أصنام كثيرة العدد ولها غلّاتٌ كثيرةٌ تبلغ كلّ واحدة[a] مائة الف درهم [و] اقلّ و اكثر و لهم بيوت قحاب ولها ثلثة أسواق كلّها أسواق القحاب أجرتهنّ للصنم فمنهنّ مَن أجرتها دانقٌ ومنهنّ مَن اجرتها دانقان و اكثرُ أجرتهنّ درهمٌ لا تزيد عليه وعلماء هذه المدينة البراهمة [39a]

(67) و مدينة أخرى يقال لها براهون(؟)[b] وبها سوقٌ عظيمٌ فى السنة اربعة أيام يجتمع اليه الناس من جميع النواحى وفيها سبعمائة بيت للأصنام ولها غلّاتٌ و قد رُتّب لها بيوت قحاب فى كلّ بيت عشر أو اثنتا عشرة منهنّ ومَن ماتَ منهم من الاغنياء يوصى لبيت الصنم شيئًا من ماله ويتزوّج العظيم من عظمائهم من النساء من عشرين امرأةً الى مائة والراى عندهم مثل الخليفة عندنا أو السلطان الأعظم وهو إذا ركب ركب معه من العظماء مائةٌ كل واحدٍ منهم صاحب عشرة آلاف[c] فارس وهذا الراى يعتقد أنّ الأرضَ كلّها مملكةٌ له ولا يجسرُ أحدٌ أن يقولَ بين يدَيه انّ فى الدنيا ملكًا مطاعًا غيره

الباب الثالث عشر

فى الحبشة

(1) الحبشة جنسٌ وتحته أنواعٌ كالنوبة و الزنج وغيرها وأراضيهم متّسعة الارجاء ممتدّة الأطراف تنتهى اطرافها الى مُنقطع العمارة وانعدام الحرث والنسل ولمّا بعُدت ديارهم عن الاعتدال اختلفت

a Ms. واحد b Ms. مراهون c Ms. الف

صُوَرهم وعَمَّهم سواد اللون لإفراط الحَرّ عندهم وقد ذكرنا فيما سَبَق انّ اعتدالَ الصُّوَر وهيئة الأعضاء تابعة لإعتدال الأمزِجة وإعتدال الامزجة تابع لإعتدال التُّرَب والاهوية وإذا عُرِف ذلك عُلِم انّ أحقّ المواضع بوجود محاسن الصور فيه البلاد التى وقعت فى واسطة العمارة وما يقرُب منها كمملكة فارس والعرب والروم وأداني أرض الترك فامّا الذين هم فى أطراف العمارة وأقاصى الاقاليم فلبُعدهم من الاعتدال يوجد فى أعضائهم التفاوت الذى هو ضدّ الإعتدال وكذلك فى ألوانهم مِثل الحبشة والزنج وخاصّةً فى أقاصى بُلدانهم فانّه يوجد فيهم من الخَلْق الكريهة والصور المشوّهة كجحوظ أعيُنهم وفَطَس أنوفهم وسَعَة مناخرهم وتهدُّل شفاههم وتصوّرها بصور شفاه [b39] البهائم والأنعام ويكون ذلك بحسب تباعُدهم عن الواسطة وقربهم من المنطقة[a] المحترقة واستيلاء الحرارة المفرطة على أهويتهم والحرارة أقوى أسباب الجذب فلهذا تجذبهم الى فوق حتّى تطول قاماتهم جدّا ولِأنّ الحرارة تبسُط الأشياء وتُفتّحها فتبسُط أرواحهم الى خارج فيوجدون ابدًا فرِحين لاعبين ضاحكين

(2) وهم فى الجملة ضدّ الأتراك لأنّ الترك بعُدوا عن الإعتدال لِفرط البرودة عندهم وطباع البرد الجمع والتكثيف وجمع الأجزاء وهذا فى أقاصى بلادهم خصوصًا فى بلاد ياجوج فلذلك تقصُر قاماتهم وتصغر أعيُنهم وتضيق مناخرهم وأفواههم وتنقبض أرواحهم حتّى يقِلّ فرحهم وتنحصرَ الحرارة فى بواطنهم لتكاثف المسامّ بالبرد وتسخُن لذلك مِعَدهم فيقوى هضمهم ويجود ويكثُر لحمهم ويشتدّ غضبهم بخلاف الحبشة

(3) فانّهم قلّ ما يغضبون ويحزنون وتتّسع أعيُنهم وأفواههم وسائر منافذهم ويسوء هضمهم للغذاء ولا تغتذى أبدانهم الّا بالغليظ من الطعام لِأنّ الطعام اللطيف لا يمكُث فى معِدهم ريثما ينهضم بل يتحلّل سريعًا لتفتّح منافذهم وسَعَة مسامّهم ولا تكثُر لحومهم وشحومهم لأنّ الحرارة تذيبها وتنقّف أجسامهم وتطول قاماتهم لجذب الحرارة

a Ms. الطريقة

اياها وكما تجذب أبدانهم تجذب زروعَهم واشجارَهم حتى انّ شجرةً من شجراتهم تُظلّ عشرة آلاف[a] فارس

(4) وحكى حمزة بن الحسن الاصفهانيّ عن الحسن بن عمرو السيرافيّ انّه ذكر انّه راى ببلاد السودان اشجارًا عظيمةً ورأى ببلد يقال له كانم[b] شجرين تُظلّان ثلثى الف فارس وملكهم يسكُن على ذروتهما والى مجلس الملك من قرار الارض الف مرقاةٍ وفوق الشجرين مجالس معمولةٌ من الخشب وهناك من خَدَم الملك ونسائه وحاشيته زُهاء [40a] عشرة آلاف[a] انسان ويقال انّ نَبْت القطن عندهم يصير شجرةً يصعد عليها الرجل فتناسبت أبدانهم وأشجارهم

(5) فامّا سواد اللون فهو شامل لجميعهم وليسوا كالهند التى تختلف ألوانهم الى السواد والأُدمة والبياض لأنّ حرارة بلاد الهند لم تَبلُغ مبلغ الإحراق التامّ وكذلك حرارة بلاد العرب فامّا حرارة بلاد الحبشة والزنج فقد بلغت الغاية فى الإحراق وهم يَرَون الحُسنَ والجمال فى شدّة السوادِ ويكرهون البياض ويَرَون انّ الأبيض لا يكون انسانًا سالمًا حتى انّ منهم من ياكل البيضان من الناس وقد ذهب طائفةٌ من الناس الى تفضيل السواد على البياض وحَدَاهم الى ذلك ما رأوا كثيرًا من العرب والهند الّذين لهم حظوظٌ وافرةٌ من الفضائل النفسانية والجسمانية ألوانُهم مائلةٌ الى السواد ورأوا البيضان إذا كان بأحدهم خيلانٌ سودٌ كانت زائدةً فى جماله وملاحته وإذا نظر انسانٌ الى سوادٍ كثيرٍ جاد بَصَرُه واحتدّ واذا نظر الى بياضٍ كثيرٍ كلّ بَصَره كمن يَخزُ عينه من الثلج وهذه قضيةٌ مردودةٌ وحكمٌ لا نَفاذَ له فى العقل وذلك انّ علمَ الطبائع ومعرفةَ كيانها يحكم للبياض بانّه هو اللون البسيط الأقدم فى الطباع الموضوعُ كالعنصر لجميع الالوان التى تُحمَل عليه فتنصبغ منها ويَقبَلها كلّها والسواد يُضادّه فى هذه المعانى وما بينهما من الألوان الأُخَر فوسائط مركّبة منها وبحسب ما يقع فى المزاج من مقاديرهما يكون تولّد الألوان بحيث لا نهاية لها والسواد لا يَقبَل

a Ms. الف b Ms. كاتم

شيئًا من الألوان و أصحاب الطبائع يقولون انّ لون البياض يتولّد من تأثير النور في عنصر من العناصر الأربعة القابلة له وضدّه السوادُ المتولّد من تأثير الظلمة في العنصر الذي يقبله من هذه العناصر و فضل النور على الظلمة ممّا لا يخفى [40b] على العاقل والنور صفةٌ ذاتية في الأجرام السماويّة الشريفة التي جعلها الله تعالى سببًا لكون جميع ما في هذا العالم وامّا السواد فهو صفةٌ منفيةٌ عنها غير مشاكلة لها والكلام في هذا أظهرُ من أن يحتاجَ فيه الى تكلّفِ إقامة برهانٍ فثبت انّ سوادَ لون الحبش والزنج ليس بفضيلةٍ لهم وانّما هو لِحكم الاعتدال و فرط الاحتراقِ والسوادُ وإنْ كان نقيصةً فقد ينفع في بعض المواضع إمّا منفعةً جسمانيةً كما ينفع البَصَرَ بأن يجمع النور ويُضيّق ثُقبة العين فلا ينتشر النور وإمّا منفعةً سياسيةً ناموسيّةً كما يلبس اصحاب السلطان السوادَ لتفزيع الرعايا والتهويل

(6) و قد حُكى في التواريخ انّ ملكًا من ملوك خراسان عبر نهر جيحون لمحاربة الاتراك وكان في عسكره جماعة من الزُنوج . وانّ الذين خرجوا عليهم من الاتراك لمّا أبصروهم هالهم منظرهم وتوهّموا انّهم شياطينُ او جنسٌ آخَر غير الناس وانهزموا و ولّوا مدبّرين من غير قتالٍ و لمّا عرف ملوك خراسان ذلك منهم استكثروا من الزُنوج والحبش و كانوا يقدّمونهم في قتال الأتراك الى أن تعوّد الترك النظرَ اليهم و قتلوا منهم واحدًا ورأوا دمه أحمر فقالوا انّ دَمَه كدَمِ الانسان و أعضاءه كذلك فزال خوفُهم عنهم

(7) و في تأريخ ملوك الترك انّ واحدًا منهم يسمّى بَكِج(؟) صاهَرَ ملكًا يقال له جنتويه فلمّا ساق الصداق اليه مع الهدايا الكثيرة كان[a] في جملتها حمّال زنجيّ وكان اعجوبةً بين البيضان فكانوا يستحضرونه في مجالسهم و يتعجّبون بالنظر الى هيئته ولونِه وكان فيه شهامةٌ وقوّة فكرٍ و بسالةٌ واتّفق له اسبابٌ كثيرة من السعادات واستخصّه الملكُ لنفسه ولم يَزَلْ يزداد حاله رفعةً وتمكّنًا حتّى وثب على الملك وقتله وجلس مكانه واستولى على اكثرِ ممالكهم و تلقّب [41a] بقراخان ولم

يكن ذلك لاحدٍ قبلَه لِأنّ معناه خاقانٌ اسودُ وعظُم شأنه وصار الترك بعده إذا أرادوا تعظيم ملكٍ خطبوه بقراخان قرا بلسان الترك الاسود والخاقان الملك الاعظم فيهم و قراخان اى الخاقان الاسود [a]

ألبابُ الخامس عَشَر

في صفة أَهْلِ الأطرافِ البعيدةِ والجزائِرِ

(1) إنّ اهل الاطراف من المسكونة و اهل الجزائر البعيدة عن واسطة العالم كلّما[b] بعُدت مساكنهم عن الاعتدال تباعَدت اخلاقهم وطبائعهم و احوالهم عن الاعتدال و خروجهم عن الاعتدال يكون الى إحدى الكيفيتين الفاعلتين أعني الحرارة و البرودة في جهتَي الشمال و الجنوب

(2) فامّا جهة الشمال ففيها أرض بلغار وهي بين المغرب و الشمال والى جهة القطب أميلُ و بُعدها عن خوارزم مسيرة ثلثة أشهرٍ ولهم بلَدان أحدها يسمّى سوار والآخر يسمّى بلغار وبين البلدين مسيرة يومين على شاطئ نهرٍ في غياض أشِبَةٍ جدًّا يتحصّنون بينها من الاعداء واكثر اشجارها خَذَنك وفيما بينها اشجار البندق وهم مسلمون يحاربون الكفّار من الاتراك ويغزونهم لإكتناف الكفَرة اياهم ويكون في غياضهم ذوات الوَبَر من السنجاب و السمور وغيرها وعرض ارضهم كثيرٌ حتّى إنّ نهار صيفهم في غاية الطول وليلهم في غاية القصر ويبلغ من قصر ليلهم ان لا يفي بنضج قِدْرٍ فيما بين الشفق والصبح

(3) وعلى مسيرة عشرين يوما منهم نحو القطب بلدٌ يقال له ايسو ووراءه أمّة يقال لهم يوره وهم قومٌ متوحّشون في الغياض لا يخالطون

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a كما Ms كا (ff 41a-42a) ثم يليه الباب في صفة خطّ الاستواء

الناس ويخافون شرّهم واهل بلغار يسافرون اليهم ويحملون من الأمتعة الثياب والملح واشياء أخر على آلات تجرّها الكلاب فوق الثلوج المتراكمة التى لا تنحسر ومسير الرجال على تلك الثلوج لا يمكن الّا بأن يشدّوا على أقدامهم عظام الثيران التى فى سوقها ويأخذون بأيديهم [42b] مزرقين يضربون بها على الثلج الى وراء فتزلق بذلك أقدامهم الى قدّام على وجه الجمد ويمرّ مرّ الريح حتّى يقطع فى اليوم مسافةً كثيرةً ويبايعون أهل يوره بالاشارة والمغايبة[a] لاستيحاشهم وخوفهم من الإنس ويجلبون من عندهم السمور الفائق وغيره من الوبر الجيّد فانّهم يصطادون تلك الحيوانات ويغتذون بلحومها ويلبسون جلودها

(4) ووراء يوره قومٌ ساحليّون يمعنون فى البحر من غير حاجةٍ وغرضٍ سوى الافتخار ببلوغ ذلك الموضع وهم فرقةٌ فى غاية الجهل والحمق ومن جهلهم انّهم يركبون السفن فى البحر فإذا تلاقت سفينتان شدّها ركّابها احديهما الى الأخرى ويشهرون سيوفهم ويتضاربون وتلك تحيّتهم بينهم وهم من بلدٍ واحدٍ وربّما كانوا من محلّةٍ واحدةٍ وليس بينهم عداوة ولا منافسة الّا انّ ذلك دأبهم فاذا غلب أحدهما ساق السفينتين معًا وفى هذا البحر السمك الذى يستعمل نابه فى نصب السكاكين والسيوف وغيرها ووراءهم ارضٌ سوداء لا يمكن سلوكها

فامّا فى البحر اذا سلك السالك نحو القطب ينتهى حيث يبطل الليل فى الصيف والنهار فى الشتاء وتدور الشمس ظاهرةً عليها ستّة أشهر على دائرة الأفق كدور الرحاء فيكون السنة كلّها يومًا واحدًا

(5) و[b] فى اقاصى بلاد الترك بين اوج وكاشغر مروجٌ ومفاوزُ فيها ابلٌ بريّةٌ واصناف الوحوش وناسٌ وحشيون لا يخالطون الإنس

(6) ودون خرخيز من جانب جيناخكث آجامٌ وغياضٌ ملتفّةٌ ضيّقةُ المسالك ومواضعُ أشبةٌ ومياهٌ كثيرةٌ وأوديةٌ متّصلةٌ والمطر دائمٌ

a (؟) بالمعاينة * b Ms. وامّا فى

ويسكن فى هذه الغياض أمّة وحشيةٌ لا يخالطون الناس ولا يفهم كلامهم كأنّهم وحوش ويأنس بعضهم ببعض ومراكبهم التى يحتاجون اليها لحمل أثقالهم فى الماء تكون من جلود السمك وجلود الوحش [43a] وإذا خرجوا من تلك الغياض كانوا بمنزلة السمك إذا خرج من الماء ولهم قسىّ من خشب وثيابهم من جلود الوحش وطعامهم من الصيد وهم يقاتلون ويحاربون وإذا أرادوا أن يغيروا على عدوّهم خرجوا بعيالاتهم رجّالةً ثم يحزرون عدوّهم فاذا وقعوا على عدوّهم[a] بيّتوهم ليلًا وأبادوهم واستأصلوهم وما وقع فى أيديهم وظفروا به من أمتعتهم أضرموا فيها النار واحرقوها لانّهم لا يستحلّون من مال غيرهم الّا السلاح والحديد واذا أراد أحدهم أن يواقع امرأته أقامها على اربع ثم يقضى منها وطره كما تفعل السباع والبهائم ومهور نسائهم البهائم والوحوش واذا مات منهم ميّتٌ شدّوه بالحبال وعلّقوه فى بعض الأشجار ويترك الى أن يتلاشى وربّما اتى واحدٌ منهم الى خرخيز واستطعمهم فإن أطعمه الخرخيزىّ واحسن قراه [فبها] وإلّا وثب عليه وأهلكه وعاد هاربًا الى مرجه

(7) وذكر ابو سعيد عبيد الله بن جبريل أنّه رأى جماعةً من اهل الشرق قصدوا الحجّ فى سنة اربع وثلثين واربعمائة وكانوا قريبى العهد بالإسلام وكان فيهم احدٌ يفهم ويعرف الكلام فكان يخبر عن أشياء عجيبة منها انّه قال إنّ بقرب[b] بلادهم فى الشمال جبالًا[c] فيها خلقٌ صورهم صور الناس إلّا انّ لرجالهم أذناب الكلاب تتعقّف الى ظهورهم ونساؤهم على خلقة النساء إلّا انّ كلّهم عراةٌ لا يتستّرون بشئ إلّا بشعر على أبدانهم والبحر يطرح لهم سميكاتٍ طول كلّ واحدةٍ منها ثلثة أشبار فهم يغتذون بها

تتعقّف

(8) فامّا فى جهة الجنوب فالخروج عن الاعتدال يكون الى الحرارة المفرطة فى الاحراق حتّى تخرج طباع سكّانها عن طباع الانس الى طبيعة السباع

a Ms. عددهم b Ms. يقرب c Ms. جبال

(9) وفى اقاصى اراضى الزنج أمةٌ من الزنوج يسكنون ساحلَ البحر ليس لهم بنيانٌ ولا مزارعُ ولا بهائمُ وانّ الحرّ يُفرط عليهم ولهم [43b] أسرابٌ حفروها وعمّقوها فإذا بلغ النهار انجحروا فى أسرابهم ولا يمكنهم البروز الّا بعدما تتضيّف الشمس للغروب وطعامُهم السمك وثمارُ الأشجار وأراضيهم ذات مروجٍ وأشجارٍ ملتفّةٍ وهم مشوّهو الخلقة ومفرطو الطول فى[a] تهدّل الشفاه واسترخاء الأذان واتّساع الصِماخين والمنخرين وهم يأكلون لحومَ الناس من البيضان اذا ظفروا بهم ومن عادتهم إذا ظفروا بالبيضان أن يحبسوهم فى جزيرةٍ لهم فى البحر ويوسّعون عليهم الطعام ممّا عندهم حتى تعبلَ أجسامهم وتكثُر لحومُهم ثم يذبحونهم ويأكلونهم[b] ويختصّ ملكهم وزوجته بهذا الطعم الّا إنْ يكثر فيشاركهما غيرهما فيه وشهوة الباه غالبةٌ عليهم لكثرة حرارتهم وربّما عُرض البيضان على الملك ليختارَ منهم مَن يُريد للذبح فتقع عينُ امرأته على واحدٍ منهم فاستحسنته وأخذته طُعمةً لنفسها وادخلته سربها وراودته عن نفسه فإن وجدت عنده قوّةً وقدرةً على المباضعة استبقته واستفحلته وأطعمته من السموك ما يُزيدُ فى قوّة الباه ولا تزال تستعمله الى أن يَضعُفَ ويَفتُرَ فاذا عجز عن الجماع ذبحته وأكلته وربّما وجد فُرصةً فانتهزها وهرب وأصحاب التجارات ممّن يُصاقبهم يقصدون مواضعهم لاقتناص الذرارى والصبيان منهم فيخرجون الى مروجهم ويختفون فى غياضها ويحملون معهم التمر ويطرحون منه شيئا فى ملعب صبيانهم فيلتقطون ذلك ويستطيبون ويطلبونه وفى اليوم الثانى يطرحون التمرَ فى موضعٍ أبعدَ من المطرح الأوّل ولا يزالون يتباعدون فى ذلك والصبيان تتّبعه حرصًا على التمر فاذا تباعدوا عن منازل آبائهم خرجوا عليهم واختطفوهم وحملوهم الى بلادهم

(10) وفى بحر الهند جزيرةٌ تسمّى لنكبالوس ويقال انّها سبعمائة فرسخ فى مثلها لا يُفهَم لسان أهلها [44a] وفى بحرهم العنبر وهم لا

a Ms. و   b Ms. يأكلون

ينتفعون به وانّما يجيئون خلفَ المراكب ويبيعون منهم بالإشارات والإيماء الحديدَ ولا يرغبون إلّا فيه

(11) ووراءهم جزيرة اهلها سودٌ مشوّهون يأكلون مَن يظفرون بهم من غيرهم بعد أن يقطّعوه ويتركونه معلّقًا ثم يزدردونه نيًّا ويسمّيهم بعض الناس جنًّا وانّما خُيّل لهم ذلك لأنّهم رأوهم متسبّعين يأكلون الناس الغرباء فاجتنبهم غيرهم وتباعد عنهم واذ[a] لم يخالطهم أحدٌ جُهلت فى المخاطبة مواضعاتهم واذ[a] نفر عنهم غيرهم زادهم نفارًا وربّما قصدهم بعض الناس ممّن يعتقد فيهم الشرارة فاستحكم نفارهم فصاروا كالجنّ باختبائهم واختفائهم عن الناس بل كالشياطين لاستقباح صُورهم واشكالهم

(12) فانّ تشوّهَ الخلقة وسماجةَ الأعضا والبنية والإفراطَ فى طول القامة غيرُ مستبدَع فى السودان واهل الجزائر ومنهم عراةٌ لا يستُرون سوآتهم(!) ثمّ الحاجة تُلجئهم الى المبايعات والمعاوضات ولن يستمرّ لهم إلّا بالمغابنة[b] الجالبة على الجانبين بالأمن وأكثرُ اهل الجزائر يتعاملون بالحديد والملح والفُوَط وقلّ ما تروج الدنانيرُ عندهم

(13) وحكى بعض التجّار البحريّين انّهم أرفَوا الى جزيرةٍ وخرجوا اليها للامتيار وانّه دفع دينارًا الى احدٍ من اهلها فأخذه وشمّه ثمّ ذاقه ثمّ ردّه ولم يَرضَ به اذ لم يرَ لنفسه فيه نصيبًا

(14) وفى جانب بحر الحبشة فرقةٌ من البربر يقصدهم التجّار فيعاملونهم ويبايعونهم من بعيدٍ وعلى رُقباء وحَفَظة خوفًا منهم فانّ من عادتهم أنْ يجبّوا من يظفرون به من الغرباء ولا يعاون بهم غير ذلك ثم يعلّقون المذاكير بخصاها فى بيوتهم للمفاخرة والمباهاة بكثرتها

(15) وذُكر فى كتاب المسالك والممالك انّ أمّةً من ناحية الغرب(!) تجئُ الى الكيماكيّة[c] فى السفن ويُتاجرونهم بالإشارة وتُشال[d] السلعة على خشبةٍ حتّى يقع التراضى ويرغبون فى الطساس [44b] الشبهية يتّخذون

a Ms. اذا   b (?) بالمعاينة *   c (?) الكستميّة *   d Ms. شيل

منها حُلى نسائهم ولا يتكلّمون

(16) ومن التجّار جماعة يقصدون الجزائر السافلة من ارض الهند لشراء القرنفل وقد اشتهر عند الجمهور انّه يُشترى مغايبةً[a] لنفرة بين المتبايعين وذلك انّ تجّارَ البحر يقصدون الجزيرة التى هى معدن القرنفل فاذا انتهوا اليها طرحوا الأنجر وصاروا فى القوارب الى شاطئ الجزيرة وبسطوا الأنطاع ووضع كلّ رجل كيسه الذى فيه الدنانير على نطعه وانصرفوا عن الجزيرة عشيًا فاذا أصبحوا عادوا فى القوارب الى ذلك المكان فيجدون على كلّ نطع بَدَل المال كُدسًا من القرنفل فاخذوه وإن كره ذلك بعضهم تركه بحاله وعاد فى اليوم الثانى فيجد ماله بحاله تحت ختمه فى كيسه و القرنفُل مرفوعٌ وليس فى مبايعتهم حيف وتلك جزيرةٌ ضخمةٌ ولا يُرى فيها بالنهار انسانٌ ولا يُرى فيها بالنهار القرنفل وإذا كان الليل سُمع فيها ضَوضاةٌ وجلبة ولا يجسُر احدٌ على توغّلها ومَن دخَلها و تخلّف هناك لا يوجَد له اثرٌ بعد ذلك ولا يُدرى أمْرُه

(17) وبحذاء سرنديب بلدٌ يقال له رامشير وبينه وبين سرنديب جبالٌ بارزةٌ من البحر متقاربة الوضع ووراءها أمّة يأكلون الناس بعدما يُذبحون ويُشرّحون وفى غياض سرنديب ناسٌ عراةٌ لا نفهَم كلامُهم وليس لهم نطقٌ بيّنٌ إلّا شئٌ كالصفير وهم صغار الجُثث جدًّا لا تزيد قاماتهم على اربعة اشبار وهم متوحّشون نافرون عن الناس ويتسلّقون على الأشجار بأيديهم من غيرأن يضعوا أرجلهم عليها

(18) وفى البحر قومٌ بيضٌ يلحقون المراكب سباحةً والمراكب فى سُرعة السير كالريح ويحملون بأفواههم العنبر فيبيعونه بالحديد

(19) وجزيرة يقال لها بالوس أهلها يأكلون الناس

(20) وذَكَرَ شيخٌ معروفٌ من المتطبّبين كان كثيرَ [45a] السياحة انّه نزل بقوم من العرب فى بعض البرارى التى فى طرف الأحساء

a (؟) معاينةً *

فاستضافهم[a] وبقى عندهم وكانوا يُطعمونه لحمًا مملوحًا مجفّفًا اذ لم يكن عندهم من الطعام الّا الجَراد واللبن ولحمُ الصيد فقلتُ لهم يومًا انّى اشتهيتُ لحمًا طريًا فقالوا غدًا نركب الى الصيد ونأخذك معًا فلمّا أصبحنا ركبوا وركبتُ معهم فلمّا أصحَرنا قالوا لى انّك لا تعرف طُرُق الاصطياد ولكن قِفْ على شريعة هذا الوادى فاذا جاءك الصيد فاردُدْه الينا وكان الطريق ضيّقًا قال فوقفتُ فاذا بجماعة على صورة الناس رجالٌ ونساءٌ وصبيانٌ قد أقبلوا وأشاروا عليه بصياحٍ يُشبه الكلام بأنْ يتنحّى عن الطريق قال فتنحّيتُ حتّى عبروا وإذاهم عراةٌ وعلى أبدانهم شعرٌ رقيقٌ كالوَبَر يسترهم فلمّا جازوا بأجمعهم جاء القوم فى أثرهم وقالوا لى أينَ الصيدُ؟ فقلتُ ما رأيتُ الصيدَ ولكن رأيتُ جماعةً من الناس عراةً وسألونى الإفراج عن الطريق ففعلتُه فتضاحكوا و قالوا خدَعَكَ الخبيثُ وإذا معهم من ذلك الحيوان عدّةٌ قد ذبحوها وعلّقوها على دوابّهم فلمّا رأيت ذلك اشمأزّت نفسى وعَزَفْتُ[b] عن مؤاكلتهم وامتنعتُ عن أكل اللحم فقالوا إنّ الذى كنتَ تأكل فى هذه الايّام كان من هذا الحيوان وكلّفونى أكلَه فعافته نفسى وانصرفتُ عنهم وهذا الحيوانُ الذى يُسمّى نسناس

(21) ويقال ان فى البرارى التى بين بَذَخْشان وكأشغر من هذا الحيوان شئٌ كثيرٌ

(22) وذُكِر فى اخبار الاسكندر انّه لمّا قصد دخول الظُلمات اعترضته أمّة من هذا الجنس وكاثَرُوه حتّى احتاج الى قتالهم وإبادتهم وهم صنفٌ من القِرَدَة وعلى أبدانهم شعرٌ كما يكون على القِردة

(23) وقرأتُ فى كتاب البحر انّ جزيرةَ الوَاقِ واق التى يكون فيها الآبنوس فيها أمّةٌ خلقتُهم [45b] كخلقةِ الناس فى جميع الأعضاء إلّا اليدين فإنّ لهم فى موضع اليدين شيئًا كالجناح صفاقيًا

a Ms. فاستضافوهم b Ms. وعرفت

كجناح الخُفّاش وهم رجالٌ و نساءٌ وهم يأكلون و يشربون ويَجْنون على رُكَبهم ويتّبعون السفن يستطعمون فإذا قصدهم انسانٌ بسطوا تلك الأجنحة وأحضروا فيصير عَدْوُهم كالطيرانِ فلا يلحَقُهم أحدٌ ۞

مُلحق

[75a] .... وذكر الجيهاني في كتاب المسالك والممالك انّ المارَّ من نساجو الى الصين يُرى عن يمينه جبلًا فيه دوابّ المسك والثيران التي تُحمَل من أذنابها المذابّ[a] ورؤس الرايات – وكأنها تكون هناك احسن وأجود فانّ هذه الثيران تكثر فيما شرّق عن ارض الخُتَّل نحوَ شكنان ووخّان – وانّه من الكاشغر على مسيرة شهرين ونصف وهو على مفترق الطريق الى قتاى على استقبال المشرق، والى الصين على انحراف نحو اليمين ويميل الى الجنوب، وهو غير بعيد عن محاذاة التبّت ....

[210a] ... وفي سفالة الهند في أقصاها ارضٌ يقال لها زمين زر اى ارض الذهب يَنبُت فيها الذهب كما ينبُت الكلاء والتجّار يقصِدونها ولا يُمكنهم أن يَدخلوها إلّا ليلًا لِأن فيها النَمل الفُرسان ما يبلغ عِظَمُه عظم الكلب وتأكل الناس و غيره من الحيوان وهي تلحَق الجواد المسترعف والنجيب المُزجا) ومن فُرسان النَمل الكبار نوعٌ له قرونٌ كبارٌ متشعّبة شبيهة بقرون الأيائل سود اللون عظمى الجرم وكنّا نستبعد ذلك حتّى حمل [بعضهم] الى حضرة السلطان الأعظم قرنًا واحدًا من قرونها وكان على ما وصفنا ووزنّاه فكان وزنه ثُلْثَى درهم فقضينا منه العجب وذلك في شهور سنة اربع عشر وخمسمائة وكثيرًا من البلدان والقرى غلب عليها النمل فخَلَتْ من[b] اهلها و أصبحت خاوِيةً على عروشها ....

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a Ms المذآبّ   b Ms. عن

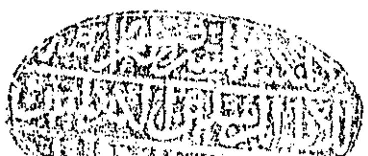
ILLUSTRATIVE SPELLINGS

Page	Line	
		قراجانك Rashīd مراجكلى
86	27	Hudūd فراجكلى Marvazī
		انفس Hudūd اندلس
88	9	Ya'qūbī الانساس Fihrist
134	17	Fihr. البكرنتينية and التكرتية gard. تكربيتيان Marvazī
		البكرنتينية Shahristānī البكريسة
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134	34	Fihr. الراجحرية gard. راجتر
		البهادونية
134	44	gard. بهادوريان Marv. البهادرية Shahr.
		مرش حون بهادرز
		gard. بهادرو جون مرس Marv.
136	1	بلاديو > بهادرر (Baladēv) or بلارام (Balārām); جون >
		كرشن > مرش ;
		* جار (Jār) or جرا (Jarā) ;
137	7	* لخمن (Lakhman) or لخن (Lakhan), cf. جون (Jūn) ;
		بهرت (Bharata), cf. مرش
138	5	Muṭahhar التهكنية or الدهكنية gard. بكنى Marv. الدهقبية
		Shahr. الدهكيتية
139	23	Fihr. الدسكسه gard. اورهكتيان Shahr. الديكيتية
139	36	gard. مهارفتيان Marv. المهاربسه
140	5	gard. امركجريان Marv. الامركجرية
140	14	gard. نرسان نيكسان كستكرتيان or سدريان
146	21	اورفسين > * اورغفتن (Ūragha-fattan)
148	7	دهم رهمى * دهرم (Dharm)
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155	16	Hudūd بريهون Muqaddasī برهيروا Marvazī براهون
		حسنويه > جبويه
157	33	تاج > يغما (Yaghmā)(?)

ERRATA

The sign (!) indicates some unusual spellings of the original. In several places, dots, specially over final ö have not come out in the photograph. More important oversights are indicated in the following list.

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			19	7	وادٍ	35	21	نحوُ
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	14	بعض	35	6	يحفظُ يخرجُ	51	14	[210 ب]
	21	المتورّمة		17	اراضٍ		23	خاويةً



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SHARAF AL-ZAMĀN ṬĀHIR
MARVAZĪ

ON

CHINA, THE TURKS AND INDIA

Arabic text (*circa* A.D. 1120)

with an English translation and commentary

BY

V. MINORSKY

Professor of Persian in the University of London

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
74 Grosvenor Street, London, W.1
1942

INTRODUCTION

(*a*) *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī*

In 1937 Dr. A. J. Arberry announced the discovery, which he had made in the India Office Library, of an almost complete copy of the *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*, "The Natural Properties of Animals," by Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī.[1] His preliminary identification of the MS. (Delhi, Arabic 1949) is fully confirmed by the seven passages from Marvazi's work quoted by 'Aufī.[2] To cite but one example, the story of the fleet-footed Arab whose prowess Sharaf al-Zamān witnessed in 448/1056 on Nahr-Razīq[3] figures on fol. 28*b* of the India Office MS. Another means of control is afforded by Jamāl al-dīn Ibn al-Muhannā's *Kitāb ḥilyat al-insān*.[4] The author (d. 828/1425) quotes the *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān* as an authority for the Turkish cycle of 12 years, in connection with an embassy sent to Sultan Maḥmūd Ghaznavī by the rulers "of Ṣīn and the Turks."[5] This important passage, with many new details, is found on ff.15*b*–16*b* of the India Office MS.

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1937, pp. 481–3. See also my paper *Une nouvelle source musulmane sur l'Asie Centrale au XI^e siecle*, read at the Académie des Inscriptions, *Comptes-rendus des Séances*, 1 October 1937, pp. 317–24.

[2] See Prof. M. Nizāmu'd-din's *Introduction to the Jawāmi' u'l-ḥikāyāt*, 1929, pp. 88–9. Systematic comparison will probably reveal more borrowing from Marvazi. At least eight of the anecdotes (Nos. 1935–44) in 'Aufi seem to be borrowed from Marvazi's Chap. XVI.

[3] The canal of Marv which flowed to the west of the present-day G'aur-qal'a, see Iṣṭakhrī, p. 260, cf. Zhukovsky, *Razvalinī starago Merva*, 1894, p. 19.

[4] An Arabic dictionary of the Persian, Turkish and Mongolian languages.

[5] In P. Melioransky's edition of the Turkish part of the book, SPb. 1900, pp. 041–042. In the Constantinople edition of the book, A.H. 1338–40, p. 185, the passage is incomplete. Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 286, note 2.

Very little is known of the life of Marvazi.[1] As his Iranian *nisba* indicates, he was a native of Marv.[2] He was employed as a physican at the court of Sultan Malik-shāh, whose name appears several times in the text,[3] and he probably continued to serve under his successors down to Sanjar. He must have died at an advanced age for the dates occurring in his book cover a very long period; the above-mentioned episode on the Nahr-Razīq (f. 28*b*) happened in 448/1056; in 478/1085 the author healed the wound of Malik-shāh's elephant in Marv (f. 70*b* and Niẓāmu'd-dīn, *o.c.*, 89); in 483/1090 he was in Isfahan, Rieu, *Arabic Catalogue*, 460*b*; under 514/1120 he refers to an invasion of ants (f. 210*b*). Had he been even only ten years old in A.D. 1056, he would be seventy-four by A.D. 1120, at which time his scientific career must have been practically at an end. Sharaf al-Zamān's great admiration for the Greeks might suggest his scientific affiliation to Avicenna (d. 428/1037), whom he quotes as "the philosopher Ibn-Sīnā," though he seems to possess a direct knowledge of such medical luminaries as Hippocrates and Galen (in Arabic translations!). The author of the Br. Mus. Catalogue who examined the zoological part of the book, states that Marvazi often quotes such other authorities, as Jāḥiẓ and Bīrūnī.[4] His knowledge of medicine and natural sciences, as well as the keenness of his inquisitive mind are everywhere evident in his work. In Chapter XVI at least four examples of human anomalies are described from his personal observations.

Some small details might suggest that Marvazi had Shī'a leanings.

[1] No references to him could be found in the usual bibliographic works such as Ḥājjī Khalīfa's *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, or under the item "Marv" in such geographical dictionaries as Yāqūt, and the *Haft-Iqlīm*. Sam'ānī, who died in 562/1166, was a younger contemporary of Marvazi and himself a native of Marv, but he took little interest in anything outside the circles of collectors of traditions, reciters, memorizers of the Qor'ān and other such grave people. Moreover the abundance of scholars in Marv makes him say: *wal-Marāwiza fī-him kathratun fa'staghnaynā 'an dhikri-him li-shiddati-him* (f. 553*b*). The Egyptian "zoologist" al-Damīrī, who in his extensive *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* (773/1372) quotes over eight hundred authors, ignored Marvazi's work, see J. de Somogyi, *Index des sources de . . . ad-Damīrī*, in *J.A.*, juillet, 1928, pp. 5–128.

[2] The *nisba* is formed with the Persian suffix *-zi*. Dr. Arberry has recognised the incorrectness of a note in a late hand on the wrapper of the MS. which attributes the work to Sharaf al-zamān (al-dīn?) Muḥammad al-Īlāqī, "a pupil of Avicenna."

[3] F. 63*a* on Malik shah's slave called *gurba-khwār*; p. 70*a* on the king's elephant; f. 95*b* on a wild ass brought to the king. M. shah is refered to as dead.

[4] Jāḥiẓ is quoted on ff. 59*a* and 81*b*. Dr. Arberry tells me that in the chapter on eunuchs Marvazi plagiarises the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* of Jāḥiẓ. See also the commentary on Chap. XIII, §5. I have not succeeded in finding a reference to Bīrūnī in Arab. 1949.

Speaking of the rulers of Multān (fol. 36*b*), he says that they read the khuṭba to the "Imām of the Muslims," meaning by that the Fāṭimid caliph, cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, p. 239, and Muqaddasi, 455. Marvazi's great admiration for the valour of the (Shī'a) Daylamites (Chapter VII) is also conspicuous. However, in both cases the tendency may belong to the original sources, for speaking of 'Ā'isha's exploits (p. 48*b*) Marvazi affixes to her name the usual orthodox benedictions.

(*b*) *Contents of the Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*

The contents of Marvazi's work can be tabulated in the following way:

A. *Maqāla I.* INTRODUCTION of mixed contents falling into three divisions:

(*a*) *General*, on the lines of typical Islamic *ādāb*:
Chapters I–II: (missing in the MS.)
III: on the customs of kings (incomplete).
IV: on scholars (f. 1*b*).
V: on hermits and sufis (f. 5*a*).
VI: on ethics (f. 7*a*).

(*b*) *Geographical*, interspersed with anthropological considerations:
Chapter VII: on the Persians (f. 9*b*).
VIII: on the Chinese (f. 12*a*).
IX: on the Turks (f. 20*a*).
X: on the Byzantines (*Rūm*) (f. 24*a*)
XI: on the Arabs (f. 26*b*).
XII: on the Indians (f. 32*a*).
XIII: on the Abyssinians (f. 39*a*).
XIV: on the Equator (f. 41*a*).
XV: on the outlying countries (*aṭrāf*) and islands (f. 42*a*).

(*c*) Specially *anthropological*:
Chapter XVI: on monsters and other aberrations (f. 45*b*).
XVII: on males and females (f. 48*a*).
XVIII: on eunuchs (f. 57*a*).
XIX: on the length of life (f. 59*b*).
XX: on customs (f. 62*a*).
XXI: on the utility of the organs of the human body (ff. [illegible]–66*b*).

B. *Maqāla II.* A TREATISE ON ZOOLOGY giving notices of individual animals, from the elephant down to the flea (ff. 66*b*–217).[1]

[1] In a later hand this part is subdivided into smaller sections, viz. Maqāla II, containing descriptions of 49 animals, Maqāla [illegible] ditto on birds, Maqāla IV, ditto 35 insects and reptiles.

The MS. is incomplete at the end.[1] Only after Dr. Arberry's discovery did it become clear that the British Museum MS. (Add. 21.102) represents a second copy of the *Ṭabā'i'*. Unfortunately this "Opus ad Zoologiam pertinens" is also defective at both ends; it begins at f. 54 of the India Office MS., omitting the whole geographical part of the first Maqāla. A description of the MS. is found in Cureton-Rieu's *Catalogue*, DCCCCXCVI, p. 460*b*.[2]

(*c*) *The scope of the present edition*

The limited purpose of the present publication is to render accessible to the public the geographical chapters on the Far East which form a particularly welcome supplement to the available Islamic literature on this subject.

Thus the Zoological Treatise falls outside our scope, and of the Introduction only the chapters on China (VIII), the Turks (IX) and India (XII) come within our purview.[3] We have joined to them the chapters on Southern Lands (XIII and XV), which are useful for the understanding of the data on the Far East. In Marvazi's eyes, the Ethiopians (Negroes) are the antithesis of the Turks, and his chapters on these two races complement one another. Chapter XV of the "remote" countries and southern islands is factitious: Marvazi uses it as a kind of cemetery to bury the tails of stories which are told elsewhere. It was our business to preserve these useful appendices and even[4] restore them to their bodies whenever the connection was obvious. The data on the islands continue the description of India.

Consequently our work comprises:

(*a*) the Arabic text of Chapters VIII, IX, XII, XIII and XV;

(*b*) an English translation of these Chapters;

[1] The seal on the last page bears an indistinct inscription: *'ḥyā' š r 'ḥyā* (?), with a date which reads like 771 (A.D. 1369). The formula * *iḥyā ushir iḥyā* is used in Iraq for magic purposes (A. Ḥūrī). The date indicates that the Ms. was incomplete as early as the middle of the 14th cent. A.D.

[2] Quotations from a "*Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān* of Ūstād Majd al-dīn Marvazi" are found in a MS. collection of Persian texts described in Flügel's Catalogue (Vienna), III, 451, No. 1963, extract 19 (comprising only two or three folios). The author cannot be our Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir. "Sharaf al-dīn Majd al-dīn" was the title of 'Aufi's uncle who acted as the court physician to the Qara-khanid Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn, v.i. commentary on Chapter XIII, §6.

[3] The chapters on the Persians (VII) and Arabs (XI) are vague and discursive. That on the Byzantines (X) belongs to a different cycle and should be edited separately.

[4] In our Translation but not in the Text.

(*c*) a running commentary on them in the order of the sections which have been introduced into the text.

(*d*) *The interest of the Far Eastern Chapters*

The text included in the present book is rich in novelty. The chapter on China contains a unique report on the embassy from the K'itan emperor of Northern China to the court of the conqueror of India Sultan Maḥmūd (A.D. 1027), and many new facts about Chinese customs, foreign colonies in the ports, towns of China and the roads leading thereto. The chapter on the Turks has a number of new facts on certain Siberian tribes and the chain of migrations from the Far East for which Marvazi seems to be the original authority. The abundant details on Indian creeds in Chapter XII are based on a report which was presumably drawn up, *circa* A.D. 800, i.e. more than two centuries before Biruni. It will be no exaggeration to say that there is hardly a paragraph in Marvazi without some new detail or lesson in it.

(*e*) *Importance of Marvazi for comparisons*

The importance of the new text for purposes of comparison must be particularly stressed. In the present state of our knowledge, the personal flags of Muslim geographers no longer cover the cargo of their works. Gradually our research tends towards the elucidation of the sources and original reports on which the compilations are based. The critical methods which have acquired rights of citizenship in classical and mediaeval studies must necessarily be introduced into the examination of Islamic writings. In my translation of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (1937) I have endeavoured to test the origins of this important geographical text (dated 372/982), and I now find the parallels offered by Marvazi invaluable for an analytic study of the tradition. A comparison of the available accounts of Indian creeds on the basis of Marvazi's work (and of the unpublished chapters of Gardīzī) has suggested to me an hypothesis as to the date of the composition of the original report (v.i. p. 126). An examination of the Far Eastern toponymy in Biruni and in Marvazi has brought me to the conclusion that both used the same sources, and among them, the data supplied by the K'itan ambassador in A.D. 1027. Hitherto our only source of information on the great migration of tribes

which extended from Manchuria to the Black Sea was 'Aufī (*circa* 633/1236). We now know that the report already existed in Marvazi (*circa* 514/1120) and there are reasons to believe that the latter personally knew the amir Äkinchi b. Qochqar, whose name is quoted in the report (v.i. p. 30). Many more such facts will be found in the commentary on individual chapters.

(*f*) *Marvazi's written sources* (*Jayhānī*)

Apart from the reports which constitute the chief novelty of Marvazi, his compilation is based on the traditional stock of Muslim geographers. The number of the written sources which Marvazi used was apparently limited.[1] In his text there are no traces of Abū Zayd Balkhi (as available in Iṣṭakhri and I. Hauqal), Mas'ūdī or Muqaddasi, but he made extensive use of a source of the highest importance, namely *Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik*[2] of the Sāmānid minister Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Jayhānī (earlier part of the tenth century A.D.). This *opus magnum* is lost, but its traces have survived in many geographical works, especially those written in Khorasan.[3]

The facts concerning the composition of Jayhānī's *Masālik* can be summed up as follows:

(1) The exact date of its completion is unknown. The earliest borrowers from it are supposed to be I. Faqih and I. Rusta, but this is doubtful. Even about these two authors our knowledge is limited to the fact that they wrote some time after A.D. 900 (v.i. p. 8).

(2) According to Muqaddasi, 271, Jayhānī incorporated in his book "the whole of the original work of I. Khurdādhbih," i.e. the latter's homonymous *Kitāb al-masālik* (first version A.D. 232/846, second version 272/885 ?). It must be borne in mind that the text of I. Kh., as published by de Goeje, BGA, VI, is only a compendium, whereas Muqaddasi's statement suggests that Jayhānī used I. Kh.'s original text.

(3) Jayhānī himself collected information actively and systematically. Gardīzī says that after having become vazir in 301/913–4 he wrote letters to the courts of the Byzantine empire, China, India, etc., with enquiries about the customs existing there. Muqaddasi reports that Jayhānī assembled foreigners and questioned them on revenues, roads and other matters of political interest, which also points to a period after A.D. 913. Writing in Bukhara Jayhānī could extend the field of his investigation much deeper into Central Asia and the Far East than was possible for his Arab contemporaries. Therein consists the outstanding importance of the passages from Jayhānī which have survived in later sources.

(4) Jayhānī's system of personal enquiries must have extended over a period of years and it is to be assumed that individual chapters of his work were completed and re-written several times; this may explain why the quotations from him do not entirely coincide in different borrowers. Moreover the bulk of his work (seven volumes!) gave the epitomists considerable choice in the selection of details.

(5) We now know that in 309/921 I. Faḍlān actually met Jayhānī who still enjoyed the high position of secretary (*kātib*) to the king and was called in Khorasan *al-shaykh al-'amīd*.[1] I feel confident that I. Faḍlān kept in touch with his protector Jayhānī and informed him of his experiences in Bulghār (possibly by way of private communication, or even orally). Such information may have been incorporated in the later copies of Jayhānī's work, and this would account for some passages in Marvazi, etc., which sound like echoes from I. Faḍlān.

(6) Another new fact is the preface to the MS. which A. Z. Validi[1] discovered in Mashhad in 1923. Its author enumerates the contents of his collectanea[2] and says that he has added to I. Faqih's work

[1] Some of them are quoted in the text. Chapter VIII: §14, *Akhbār* (?); §36, *al-Masālik*; §§17–20, Hippocrates and Galen. Chapter XIII: §4, Ḥamza Iṣfahāni; §6, *Tawārīkh* (?); §7, *Ta'rīkh mulūk al-Turk*. Chapter XV: §7, Abū Sa'īd 'Ubaydallāh b. Jibrīl; §15, *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*; §22, *Kitāb Iskandar*; §23, *Kitāb al-baḥr*. These titles are discussed at the appropriate places of our commentary. Other authorities quoted: Aristotle, 11*b*, 51*a*; Dioscorides: 66*a*, 209*b*; Dīqrātīs (?), 47*b*; Aṣmā'ī, 30*a*; Shāfi'ī, 50*a*; Ibn 'Abbās, 7*b*; Abul-'Abbās, called Jarrāb al-daula, 45*b*; Māshāllāh, 60*b*; al-qāḍī al-Tanūkhī 98*a*. Several reports are introduced impersonally: "says a Baghdadian," 46*a*, "says a Bedouin," *ibid.*; "says a Christian," *ibid.*, etc.

[2] Quoted *expressis verbis* in the characteristic passage of f. 76*a* (v.i. p. 91), as well as in Chapter VIII, §36, and Chapter XV, §15, but mostly unacknowledged.

[3] See Marquart, *Osteurop. und Ostas. Streifzüge*, p. xxxi; Barthold's and my own Prefaces to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, London, 1937, and my articles, *The Khazars and the Turks in the Ākām al-marjān*, in BSOS, IX/1, 1937, pp. 141–150, and *Une nouvelle source musulmane*, 1937, pp. 317–24.

[1] A. P. Kovalevsky, *Novootkrītïy text Ibn Fadlana* in *Vestnik drevney istorii*, 1938 1 (2), 56–71; [Anonymous], *Puteshestviye Ibn Fadlana na Volgu*, pod redaktsiyey I. Y. Krachkovskago, published by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., 1939, fol. 197*b* of the MS. found in Mashhad. The editor believes, pp. 30, 41, that I. Faḍlān returned also *via* Bukhara.

[2] Viz. the second part of I. Faqih, two risālas of Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil and the risāla of I. Fāḍlān.

"the two risālas which Abu Dulaf addressed to us (*risālatayni katabā-humā ilaynā Abū Dulaf*)." Consequently the author of the preface was one of the two dedicatees whom Abū Dulaf addresses in his risālas (*yā man anā 'abdukumā*)." Abū Dulaf claims to have accompanied, on its return journey, the "Chinese embassy" which visited the court of the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43), i.e. the king with whose reign Jayhānī's activities were closely connected. Jayhānī's interest in geography is well known and his personal position would be in keeping with the respect with which Abū Dulaf treats his dedicatees. It is tempting to identify one of them with Jayhānī. If correct, this surmise[1] would be valuable as giving a new later date at which Jayhānī was still alive (*circa* A.D. 943).

(g) *Parallel texts*

One of our important tasks is to trace the vestiges of Jayhānī in the available geographical works.[2] It will be helpful to give in this place a short survey of those works connected with Jayhānī which are constantly cited as parallels in my explanations.

(*a*) IBN AL-FAQĪH is accused by the author of the *Fihrist*, 154, of having "plundered" Jayhānī's work.[3] De Goeje, BGA, V, p. xi, doubts this statement on the grounds that no facts in I. Faqīh are later than 290/902. The text of the abridgement of I. Faqīh, published by de Goeje, does not support the accusation of *al-Fihrist*, but on the other hand some "eastern" chapters, which would be decisive in our case, are absent both in BGA, V, and in the Mashhad MS.[4]

(*b*) IBN RUSTA does not mention Jayhānī. His work is placed, *circa* 300/912, see BGA, VII, p. vi, which date is earlier than the appointment of Jayhānī to the vazirate. On the peoples of Eastern

[1] It is cautiously suggested ("Is it possibly Jayhānī?") by the editor of I. Faḍlān's *Puteshestvie*, 40.

[2] Much has been achieved in this direction by Baron V. Rosen, Barthold and especially Marquart in his *Streifzüge*, p. xxx, and his later works on the Comans, Arctic lands and Siberian tribes. See in more detail my translation of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*. Marquart considered the publication of the *Ḥudūd* and of 'Aufī as the necessary preliminary of further research. An analysis of the contents of 'Aufī was published by Prof. Niẓāmud-dīn in 1929. The *Ḥudūd* has been available since 1937 and now the source of 'Aufī, unexpectedly recovered by Dr. Arberry, is presented to the public.

[3] On the other hand, Muqaddasi, 271, accuses I. Faqīh of having incorporated the work of *Jāḥiẓ*, which de Goeje considers more likely.

[4] If Jayhānī is originally responsible for the collectanea which has survived in the Mashhad MS., v.s. p. 7, n. 2, this would be a further indication that I. Faqīh's was independent of Jayhānī.

Europe he uses the early ("Bulkār-Burdās") report, which is previous to I. Faḍlān's exploration (v.i. p. 111), and which possibly belongs to I. Kh.'s complete text. On the other hand, I. Rusta has many passages on the northern and remote lands (India) which correspond literally with the *Ḥudūd*, Gardīzī and Marvazī, who undoubtedly used Jayhānī. All we can say is that I. Rusta's quotations are probably borrowed from the complete I. Kh. (which was used by Jayhānī as his ground-work), or possibly that I. Rusta used only an earlier draft of Jayhānī which did not include the later additions.[1]

(*c*) MUṬAHHAR B. ṬĀHIR MAQDISI, in Vol. IV of his *Kitāb al-bad'*, ed. C. Huart, 1907, has many points in common with I. Rusta, the *Ḥudūd*, Gardīzī and Marvazī (see especially our Chapter XII). Muṭahhar quotes a *Kitāb al-Masālik*, IV, 19, and as he wrote at Bust (Central Afghanistan), A.D. 966, he could certainly have had Jayhānī's work at his disposal.

(*d*) The anonymous ḤUDŪD AL-'ĀLAM (GMS, N.S. XI, 1937) is a compilation begun in 372/982 in Gūzgān (Northern Afghanistan). For Islamic lands it utilizes chiefly the tradition of Abū Zayd Balkhī, as improved by Iṣṭakhrī, but its chief interest lies in the chapters on China, India and the Turks which closely coincide with Gardīzī and Marvazī and must be based on Jayhānī.

(*e*) M. B. A. MUQADDASI'S *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, BGA, III, was completed between 375/985-7. The author knew Jayhānī's work; but the only point of interest for our purpose is his passage on Jayhānī's methods of which he speaks rather harshly.

(*f*) AL-NADĪM'S *Fihrist* (377/987) contains only a short notice on Jayhānī. The chapter on Indian creeds is partly, pp. 347-9, based on the same source as Muṭahhar, Gardīzī and Marvazī, but al-Nadīm utilizes it directly and not through Jayhānī, which has certain advantages for purposes of comparison. The sources of the chapters on the idols, p. 346, and on China, p. 350 (in which, among others, Abū Dulaf Yanbū'ī is quoted) are still obscure.

(*g*) BĪRŪNĪ knew Jayhānī, but his famous works contain only a small number of quotations from the *Kitāb al-masālik* (v.i. Chapter IX, §42). Bīrūnī's *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, written *circa* 421/1030

[1] The passage on the Oxus in I. Rusta, 91-2, points to Jayhānī as the source, v.i. under Bakrī.

(Br. Mus. Or. 1997) gives extremely valuable parallels to Marvazi's overland routes to China, but some of these data are subsequent to Jayhānī.

(*h*) GARDĪZĪ's *Zayn al-akhbār* (written in Ghaznī, *circa* 442/1050) contains two appendices, one on the Turks, published by Barthold in *Otchot o poyezdke*, SPb. 1897, pp. 78–103, and another on India (Cambridge, King's College MS. 213, ff. 197*b*-209*a*), which is used in the present work for the first time.[1] Both chapters contain a mass of interesting details and are very useful for the explanation of our text. Gardīzī's chapter on India is particularly close to Marvazi, but gives more details. Gardīzī directly refers to Jayhānī.

(*i*) BAKRĪ wrote in Spain and died in 487/1094. From his geographical compilation *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* Baron V. Rosen published the items referring to the peoples of Eastern Europe, etc.[2] In the description of the Oxus (fragment 6) Bakri quotes an "Aḥmad,"[3] who in his turn refers to Jayhānī as his authority. The passage is very close to I. Rusta, 91. In fragment 9, Bakri describes the Pechenegs, Khazars, Furdās, Majgharī, al-Sarīr and Burjān and, on the whole, his abridgment runs parallel to I. Rusta, Gardīzī and Marvazi. The quotation in fragment 6 suggests that Bakri used Jayhānī's data at second-hand.

(*j*) SHAHRISTĀNI wrote his *Kitāb al-milal wal-niḥal* in Khorasan in 521/1127. His study is limited to the religious systems of various peoples. The source of his chapter on India, II, 444–58, at least in part, coincides with the data of Muṭahhar, the *Fihrist*, Gardīzī and Marvazi, but it is probable that instead of Jayhānī he used some more technical *maqālāt* reproducing the statements of an ancient report (*circa* A.D. 800), (v.i. p. 129).

(*k*) 'AUFĪ, who died some time between A.D. 1232 and 1242, wrote his *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt* in India. Prof. Niẓāmu'd-dīn's *Introduction* gives a detailed analysis of its contents and an excellent survey of its sources. 'Aufī is the only author who quotes extensively from the *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*, and to him we owe our knowledge of

[1] Sachau in his translation of Bīrūnī's *India*, Preface, XLIII, and II, 359, 397, did not properly appraise Gardīzī's contribution which I hope to publish separately.

[2] *Izvestiya al-Bekri*, S. Petersburg, 1878.

[3] Baron Rosen, p. 9, identifies him with Aḥmad b. Muḥammad I. Faqīh, but the latter's account of the Oxus is different both in BGA, V, 324, and in the newly discovered Mashhad MS., f. 163*a*.

the name of its author. It is probable that many quotations from Marvazi have been inserted by 'Aufī without acknowledgment. 'Aufī's Persian translation provides useful parallels to our text. He also refers to a *Masālik-va-Mamālik*, by which he undoubtedly means Jayhānī,[1] though the vagueness of his references does not enable us to decide whether he had a direct knowledge of the work of the Sāmānid minister.[2]

(*h*) *Principles of work and acknowledgments*

In view of present conditions, Marvazi's text is reproduced in photograph from my own transcript. The editing of an Arabic text from a single MS., worm-eaten and lacking diacritical dots, is a risky enterprise. However, the existence of parallel texts to some extent alleviated the difficulties of my task. Whatever the imperfections of the readings adopted I hope the text will render some services to the future editor of the entire text of the *Ṭabā'i'*.

My translation makes no claims to literary form. All the doubtful points in the text had to be respected in order to avoid creating an impression that the sense is more definite than it is. The translation follows the text as closely as possible so as to enable persons outside the circle of Islamic scholars to form their own opinion.

No Arabic type was available for quotations in my Translation and Commentary and I have used transliteration throughout. In the case of more ambiguous and polyphonous spellings, I have given the Arabic forms and variants on p. 52 of the Arabic text. In my transliteration I have deliberately adopted a latitudinarian practice with regard to the well known names (Baghdad, Biruni). In the less common but frequently quoted names I use the diacritical marks the first time, but only here and there in the following pages by way of reminder.

In my Commentary I have often had to refer to my translation of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, of which, in fact, the present work is a development and continuation. When a point has already been explained, the commentary is limited to a reference, but any new fact or detail in Marvazi receives as full consideration as I can give.

[1] This is the solution of the problem which embarrassed Niẓāmu'd-dīn, *o.c.*, 102.

[2] But v.i. Chap. VIII, §13.

I am grateful to the Trustees of the Forlong Fund for undertaking the publication of my work.

Above all I must thank Dr. Arberry who showed a truly Sufi spirit of disinterestedness in yielding up to me the honour of explaining a text which he had discovered. It was hoped at first that the work might have been accomplished by both of us jointly, and Dr. Arberry kindly gave me his typescript of the text and supplied the first draft of the translation of Chapter IX. Other duties prevented him from continuing his collaboration and I have had to assume the responsibility for any imperfections of the present book.

Many points in the chapters on China and India could be elucidated only by scholars fully versed in the languages and cultures of these great countries. For China, I was fortunate in having the advice of two distinguished scholars, Professors J. Mullie (Louvain) and G. Haloun (Cambridge), who have not spared their time in answering my queries and in trying to find parallels in Chinese sources. On India, my friends and colleagues Dr. L. D. Barnett, F.B.A., and Prof. H. W. Bailey have given me their advice ungrudgingly. The progress realised in the explanation of the Indian terms and names, greatly disfigured in Arabic transcription, is due to the help of the Indianists mentioned. All the suggestions coming from outside are duly acknowledged in the text.

In the explanation of the Arabic text I received much help from my learned Persian friends Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Qazvīnī and Sayyid Ḥasan Taqizadeh. My former pupil, A.A.M. al-Marāghī patiently collated with me the text of the India Office MS., and many good suggestions in Arabic are due to this scholar brought up within the walls of al-Azhar. His colleague A. Dūrī helped me in correcting my transcript of the original text.

Prof. E. H. Minns, F.B.A., most kindly agreed to check the English of my Translation, and my pupil, J. A. Boyle, similarly obliged me with regard to my Commentary.

At a period of great strain and anxiety, my wife patiently typed my copy in its successive avatars and prepared the Index.

1937—1941.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

CHAPTER VIII

OF THE CHINESE

(F.12a) 1. The kingdom of China embraces a vast area, comprises many towns, cities and villages and belongs to three climes. (The latter) are as follows.

The First Clime begins in the East at the farthest limit of the Chinese lands and stretches over the latter in their southern extension. In it lies the King's City and the harbour of the ships which (is called) the Chinese Harbour. Then it stretches across the seashore in the south of India (Hind), then across the lands of Sind, and the island of al-K.rk (until) it cuts through the sea in the direction of Arabia and the territory of Yemen with its lands, which are Ẓufār, 'Omān, Aden, Ḥadramūt, Ṣanā', Jurash, Mahra, Saba', etc. Then it cuts through the Qulzum sea and stretches across the Ḥabasha lands, cuts the Egyptian Nile and stretches across a place called Jarmī, which is the capital of Ḥabasha, across Danqala, which is the capital of Nubia, then into the territories of Maghrib, to the south of the Berber countries, until it ends in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Second Clime begins in the East and stretches across China, Hind **(12b)** and Sind, passing through al-Manṣūra and Daybul. It cuts through the Green Sea, the Sea of Basra and the Arabian peninsula (across) the territories of Najd, Tihāma, Yamāma, Baḥrayn and Hajar. It cuts through the Qulzum Sea and runs through Upper Egypt and the territories of Maghrib, across the central part of Ifrīqiya, then across the Berber lands, ending in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Third Clime begins in the East and stretches across the northern part of the Chinese lands, then across the lands of Hind and the northern part of the lands of Sind, then across the lands of Kābul, Kirmān and Sijistān, then across the coast of the Sea of Basra. It passes through the districts of Ahwāz, by the lands of Syria, after which it cuts through the lower part of the Egyptian territory and of Qayruwān and ends in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Fourth Clime begins in the East and runs across the lands of Tibet, then Khorasan and Transoxiana, the territories of 'Irāq

and Daylam, some of the lands of Syria and Rūm, then it cuts through the Syrian Sea, the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, and the lands of Maghrib, and runs through the territory of Tanja (Tanger) to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Fifth Clime begins in the East in the lands of Gog and Magog and runs through the northern part of Khorasan, Transoxiana and Khwārazm, then through Ādharbayjān, Armenia, and the lands of Rūm, then through the shores of the Syrian Sea in their northern part, then through the lands of Spain, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Sixth Clime begins in the East in the North of the lands of Gog and Magog and stretches across the lands of the Turks, then across the shores of the Abaskūn Sea, in their northern part, then cuts through the Sea of Rūm and stretches along the lands of the Saqāliba, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Seventh Clime begins in the East of the lands of Gog and Magog and stretches across the lands of the Toghuzghuz and the territory of the Turks, then across the lands of the Alān, the Sarīr, the Burjān, some of the Saqāliba, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

2. The territory of China belongs to three of these climes in view of the (great) extension of its frontiers and the number of its lands. Inasmuch as its lands are situated towards the Sunrise their air is pure, the waters cold and digestible and the soil good. As its lands possess such properties, its inhabitants and cultivators are of a similar quality because we have mentioned[1] that the most important thing for an animal is the soil on which it develops, and therefore a man is called after his home (*lit.* "soil"), as he is called after his parents, e.g. Ḥijāzī, Sha'āmī (Syrian), Rūmī, Hindī, Ṣīnī, as well as 'Adnānī, Qaḥṭānī, 'Alawī, 'Abbāsī. The inhabitants of China have a moderate temperament, pleasant forms and faces and mild manners. They are a people varying according to their countries and places of residence.

3. Their territories are divided into three categories, namely, Ṣīn, Qitāy[2], called by common people Khitāy, and Uyghur, of which the greatest is the region and kingdom of Ṣīn (China).

4. The people of China are the most skilful of men in handicrafts. No nation approaches them in this. The people of Rūm are highly proficient (in crafts), but they do not reach the standards of the Chinese. The latter say that all the men are blind in craftsmanship, except the people of Rūm who (however) are one-eyed, that is to say that they know only half the business.

[1] See Commentary, p. 156. [2] Spelt *Qutay* throughout.

5. The Chinese do not mix with the Turks from whom they differ in most things because the latter wear *jubbas* and turbans and not *qabās* and hats. (On the contrary) the Qitāy and Uyghur mix with the Turks and have relations with them. They have relations and correspondence with the kings of Transoxiana, whereas the Chinese are different and do not allow strangers to enter their country and stay among them.

6. This is the law that was given to them by the false prophet Mānī when he implanted his faith in their hearts, this faith being dualism. He feared lest strangers should come to them and explain to them the futility of this faith and convert them from it.

7. I met a clever man who had been to China and traded with the Chinese in their goods. He said that the city which is their capital is called Y.njūr. This is a great city having a three days' periphery. Near it is another still greater city called Kwfwā, but the king resides in Y.njūr. (The merchant) said: This town is crossed by a great river which divides it into two parts **(13b)**. The king with his retinue, army and attendants resides in one part, while in the other are the dwellings of the subjects and the merchants. Their king is called Tafghāj-khān, and it is he who is called Faghfūr.

8. He said that because of their skill in crafts the Chinese do wonderful things. For example, he said that their king during each definite period, which (the merchant) mentioned, has a day in which audience is given to the nobles and the commoners and the king listens to (their) complaints. In front of the audience-hall there is a large and spacious square at the gate of which is placed a large block of wood, and on the latter a hatchet. The first who enters takes the hatchet and with it strikes one single blow on the block. Then he who comes after him strikes a blow, and so does each one who enters. And when the audience is concluded, out of that block there appears a perfect likeness of either a horse, or a lion, or a man, and so on, (although) each one who enters strikes only one blow. And the acme of their skill is that (after) the one who entered the first and struck the first blow, he who follows him knows what likeness was intended when the beginning was made.

9. With them the art of (making) images is held for (divine) worship and approach to God because Mānī had given them such orders and beguiled them with the words of philosophers. The latter say as the final conclusion of their philosophy that one is agreeable to God in proportion to (what) human power can achieve.

10. He also mentioned that among the market population there

are men who go about the city selling goods, fruits and so on, and each of them has built himself a cart in which he sits and in which he puts stuffs, goods and whatever he requires in his trade. This cart goes by itself without an animal (to draw it), and he sits in the cart stopping it and setting it in motion whenever he desires so.

11. And he said: I saw the market population eager in games of chance. There is no shop without dice or backgammon and sometimes (when) the parties (in a deal) have difficulties about something, one of them says: "Let us gamble for it," and from business they turn to trickery.

12. As regards the tailoring of cloths and draperies the Chinese possess in it an elegance and skill which is not attained by any nation.

13. We have already said (?) that the Magian BIHĀFARĪDH brought with him from China a green shirt which (14a) being folded could be held in the hand so that nothing would appear of it.

14. It is written in the *Akhbār* (or "there is some written information") that an envoy of some Muslim king set out to the kingdom of China. It is said that when he reached the capital of the king of China the (latter's) people met him with respect and welcomed his arrival. He says: I saw their king's servants who are as lovely[1] as full moons. They are those who are specially destined[2] for the king's service and they speak on his behalf as ambassadors. He says: One of them used to come to me as the king's envoy, listen to my answers and transmit them (to the king). He knew most languages and while some day he spoke to me on behalf of the king suddenly my eye fell on a black mole on his breast which was apparent under his shirt as if it were uncovered, and I was filled with wonder at the perfect whiteness of his face, at the blackness of his mole and the thinness of his shirt. He asked: "What has happened to thee that thy state is changed?" and I replied: "My wonder is great at the thinness of thy shirt and its beauty." He said: "Hast thou concluded that I am wearing but one shirt?" Then he rose and took off one shirt, then another, until he had taken off five of them. And so the mole was apparent from under five (layers) of clothing. And this is one of the kinds of (their) textiles.

15. And they possess many other kinds which are exported from their country together with (other) astonishing and strange rarities. The importations to their country are: ivory, frankincense, genuine[3] Slavonic amber which falls in drops of resin from trees in (the lands

[1] **Maḥbūbīn*, but the text has *majbūbīn* "fully castrated."
[2] Clearly spelt *y.khtaṣ.rūna*. Perhaps: **yaqtaṣirūna*, cf. Text, p. *8,.
[3] *Fuṣūṣī*, perhaps the kind "to be set in bezels (*fuṣūṣ*)."

of) the Slavonic sea. (It is imported) because in China amber is blackish and there is no demand for it, but there is a demand for the genuine one for their ornaments. They pretend that it is helpful against the evil eye. There is also a demand for **khutū* (spelt *khatū*), which is the horn of the rhinoceros, and this is the most precious freight for China because they make of it girdles, and the price of each such girdle reaches high sums amongst them.

16. The importers to China may not enter the city and most of their business is done in the absence (of the parties). Near the city there is a river, one of the greatest in existence; in the middle of it there is a large island and on it a large castle inhabited by Ṭālibid 'Alid Muslims, who act as middlemen between the Chinese and the caravans and merchants coming to them. These Muslims come forth to meet them, examine the merchandise and goods, carry them to the Lord of China and come back with their equivalents (14b) when these latter have been established. One after the other the merchants enter the castle with their goods and often remain there for several days. The reason why the said 'Alids are found on the island is that they are a party of Ṭālibids and had come to Khorasan in the days of the Omayyads and settled there. But when they saw how intent the Omayyads were on finding and destroying them, they escaped in safety and started eastwards. They found no foothold in any Islamic country because of fear of pursuit. So they fled to China, and when they reached the banks of the river the patrol, as is the custom, prevented them from crossing, while they had no means of going back. So they said: "Behind us is the sword and before us the sea." The castle on the island was empty of inhabitants because snakes had grown numerous in it and overrun it. So the 'Alids said: "To endure snakes is easier than to endure swords or be drowned." So they entered the castle and began destroying the snakes and throwing them into the water until in a short time they had cleared the castle (of them) and settled there. When the Lord of China learnt that (for him) there was no trouble behind them and that they were forced to seek refuge with him he established them in this place and comforted them by granting them means of existence. So they lived in peace and security, begot children and multiplied. They learned Chinese and the languages of the other peoples who visit them, and became their middlemen.

17. The Chinese language is different from other languages and so is the language of Tibet. All Chinese are of one faith which is the faith of Mānī, contrary to the Qitāy and Uyghur among whom are other faiths excepting (only) Judaism.

18. In ancient times all the districts of Transoxiana had belonged to the kingdom of China, with the district of Samarqand as its centre (*qaṣaba*). When Islām appeared and God delivered the said district to the Muslims, the Chinese migrated to their (original) centres, but there remained in Samarqand, as a vestige of them, the art of making good paper of high quality. And when they migrated to Eastern parts their lands became disjoined and their provinces divided and there was a king in China, and a king in Qitāy, and a king in Yughur with long stretches of territory between these kingdoms.

19. He who intends to visit these countries upon commercial or other business travels:

From Kāshghar to Yārkand	in	4	days **(15a)**
thence to Khotan	,,	10	,,
thence to K.rwyā (Keriya)	,,	5	,,
thence to Sājū (Sha-chou)	,,	50	,,

There (at Sājū) the roads to China, Qitāy and Yughur part:

A. He who travels to Y.NJŪR, which is the capital of the king of China TAMGHĀJ-KHĀN turns from the easterly direction southwards, towards the right, and reaches *Qām-jū (= Kan-chou), then L.ksīn—in forty days— and during this (journey) he leaves on his left the lands of *Khocho (spelt *Ḥḥw*), of which are known Sūlmin (*sic*) and Chīnānjkath. From here he enters the kingdom of Tamghāj-khān and finally reaches Y.njūr in about 40 days.

Beyond China there is a nation known as SH.RGHŪL, called by the Chinese S.NQŪ (*Sung-kuo), which is at a month's distance from *Qitāy, at the limit of inhabited lands, among water and thin mud. They are said to be those who are called Mājīn (*Māchīn) and the Indians call them Great China (i.e. Mahāchīna).

B. He who intends going to *QOCHO (spelt *Fwjw*), which is the city of the Yughur-khan, turns away towards the left after Sājū (*Sha-chou).

C. He who intends going to ŪJAM (*sic*), which is the capital of Qitāy, travels eastwards and arrives at a place called

Khātūn-san (*Khātūn-sīnī)	in about 2 months
then to Ūtkīn (?)	,, a month
then to Ūjam (*sic*)	,, a month

The circuit of Ūjam is about 2 farsakhs and this *mamlaka* ("kingdom, territory"?) is surrounded by (a fence of) sticks bent and driven into the ground at both ends, and here, at every two farsakhs, there are stationed guards who keep going on patrol and following footprints, and they kill anyone whom they discover to have gone out without (lawful) business. And from it (i.e. Ūjam) to the sea is a journey of seven days.

20. The traveller towards *QITĀY at half a month's distance from Sānjū (*Sha-chou?) reaches a group of SHĀRĪ who are known by the name of a chief of theirs which is BĀSM.L (*Basmīl). They fled to this place from Islām being afraid of circumcision.

21. The kings of Qitāy and Yughur, in spite of the fact that their countries are situated far from the countries of Islam, and that the roads leading to them are cut off, do not feel safe on the side bordering on the kings of Islam and Islamic armies because they have heard of, and witnessed the rise of this faith, its elevation, and the power of its adherents in punishing their enemies. Therefore they protect themselves and their country by closing the road and stationing guards.

22. When SULṬĀN MAḤMŪD, God's mercy on him, succeeded in achieving his might and in conquering the Indian and Turkish lands, the lords of *Qitāy and Yughur became afraid of him and the lord of *Qitāy wrote to him a letter **(15b)** the translation of which is as follows:

"Concerning [the] welfare [of the Khan]. To the amīr of Khorasan Maḥmūd Qarā-khān.[1]

"The Lord of the Heavens has granted to us (many?) kingdoms upon the face of (this) wide earth and placed us in possession of regions occupied by numerous tribes. In our capital we enjoy security and act according to our will. Anyone in the world who can see and hear cannot help seeking friendship and close relations with us. Our nephews from among the amirs of the nearer regions constantly and without exception send their envoys, and their letters and presents follow upon one another. (Only) he (Maḥmūd) until now has sent no envoy or messenger, while we hear of his excellence in strength and courage, of his outstanding position in might and elevation, of his supremacy over the amirs by awe, of his control of the provinces by might and authority and of his peace in his homeland according to his own will. As he enjoys such a glorious position it is a duty for him to write his news to the Supreme Khan than whom there is none higher beneath the heavens, and to treat him with consideration according to his state. So we have taken the initiative, limiting ourselves to the dispatch of this lightly equipped envoy rather than someone who would exceed him in rank and equipage, in view of the greatness of the distance and the length of time (necessary) for covering it.

[1] Cf. on this title p. 56.

"And as there happened to be an alliance with Qadir-khan through a noble lady[1] from the bosom of my house who became married to his son *Chaghri-tegin, and (thus) both houses became united through her, we have ordered Qadir khan to open the road to our envoy to him (i.e. to Maḥmūd) and to his envoy to ourselves, chosen from among men of sound judgment, intelligent and serious, so that we may inform him of how things stand with us, and communicate with him on what there is in the world, while establishing the custom of mutual donations, in friendship with him.

"The object in dispatching this envoy Qalitunkā (**Qul-Tonga?*) is to open the road of union and to fasten the ties of amity."

Of souvenirs the (envoy) carried only:

2	suits of *khwīdh*
1	suit of *zhūnkī*
1	suit of *k.nzī*
2	suits of *sh.k.rdi*, (each) of 2 pieces
15	suits of raw silk, (each) of 2 pieces
	furs of sable-marten (for) pelisse (**yāqū*)
200	sable martens
1000	grey squirrels
30	vesicles of musk
1	bow with 10 arrows

This letter was written in the year of the Mouse.

23. The YUGHUR-KHAN (too) wrote a letter to (Maḥmūd) and this is its translation:

"Concerning the welfare of ourself, the exalted Ilig Yughur-khan to Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

"In spite of the great distance, (we enquire) how he is in his person. We rejoice at what we hear of his welfare and we are gladdened by what we hear about his conquests over the lower countries (down) to the lands of Hind.

"As he is entertaining close relations with the kings of the world, and friendliness with the lords of the outlying regions, our happiness (kingdom?) is inclined toward the friendship of one who belongs to the number of famous champions and celebrated worthies of the world in view of the superiority and heroism (which he manifested) in the Eastern and Western spheres. We ardently desire that love and respect should be established between (us).

"Therefore the present envoy has been dispatched and, though the countries be far apart, our hearts are near to each other. We desire to devote the rest of our life to correspondence and mutual love so

[1] *al-ḥurra* stands undoubtedly for ~~Turkish *khātūn*, cf.~~ Biruni's translation of *Qatun-sini* by *maqbarat-al ḥurra*.

that a good memory thereof may remain forever. If he wishes what we wish, let him write a letter and dispatch an envoy—to prepare the policy of friendship through him and to strengthen the position by his rank.

"A messenger (slave?) whose name is Q.ltunkā has been sent from *Qitāy and we have joined with him one of our companions, so that whenever someone is dispatched to ourselves he may be with him. The road of return of the *Qitāy envoy lies through this region. We have not entrusted any presents to our envoy because there is no safe road, but we have sent a slave and an arrow as a symbol. Qāshī will deliver our message orally. In the fifth month."

24. When the two letters were presented to Maḥmūd and he saw what stupidity they contained, moved as he was by his strong belief in Islam, he did not find it possible to grant what was requested with regard to the establishment of sincere relations and correspondence, and he dismissed the envoys, saying to them: "Peace and truce are possible only so far as to prevent war and fighting. There is no faith uniting us that we should be in close relations. Great distance creates security for both of us against any perfidy. I have no need of close relations with you until you accept Islam. And that is all."

25. This happened in the year 418 (A.D. 1027), and as regards the expression "Year of the Mouse" mentioned as the date of the letter (it must be known that) the Chinese, the Turks, the Tibetans and the Khotanese possess a cycle of 12 years, on the completion of which they start again from the beginning. These years are called after certain animals whose names differ in the said languages **(16b)** and they are called:

the first	the year	of the	Mouse
the second	,,	,,	Bull
the third	,,	,,	Leopard
the fourth	,,	,,	Hare
the fifth	,,	,,	*l.bnāt* (?) of the Water
the sixth	,,	,,	Snake
the seventh	,,	,,	Horse
the eighth	,,	,,	Sheep
the ninth	,,	,,	Monkey
the tenth	,,	,,	Hen
the eleventh	,,	,,	Dog
the twelfth	,,	,,	Hog

and then it goes back to the Mouse.

26. As regards the road to China by sea, the first sea port on the way to it is called LŪQĪN (**Lūfīn*, Lung-pien), then the town of

KHĀN-FŪ (Canton, spelt *Ḥānqū*), which is larger than *Lūfin. This is a great port with a great river of fresh water which flows through the city and is spanned by bridges. On one of its banks are the markets of foreign merchants and on the other the markets of the natives. The majority of Persian and Arab merchants who travel thither sail on their ships, (the Persians) from Sīrāf and the Arabs from Basra.

In this city (of Canton) the Collector of the king's tithe gathers the goods of the merchants and levies the tithe.

The people of this city are faithful, sure and truthful in speech.

Here Chinese porcelain is produced as well as excellent paper, one side of which is white and the other yellow. Chinese silk of good quality is also produced here.

The people are dressed in caftans. One of their customs is that at daytime each one of the inhabitants of the two markets mixes (freely) with the others carrying on trade and other operations, but at sunset the drum is beaten on both banks and each party retires to its own place. If after that some one of the two parties is found in the market of the other side he is punished and fined. If someone of the Chinese staying in the strangers' market is benighted he must spend the night with them.

No stranger is allowed to take out of the city slaves, either male or female, destined for servitude, but if a merchant has had children by a handmaiden he may export her, and he is not prevented from doing so.

The goods imported to them are elephant's tusks, pepper, assafoetida, glass, lapis lazuli, saffron, steel, tamarisk wood, walnuts, all kinds of dried fruit, such as dates and raisins.

27. Their king is kind to merchants and there is no oppression of anyone who enters his region.

The (Chinese) have all white faces and there are **(17 a)** no black or dusky people among them. They are whiter than the Rūm (Byzantines), of a pure white colour and fine skin.

The king of *Khan-fu rules on behalf of the king of China, he commands an army and (gives) the battle-orders.

Their custom is to levy from the merchants who come to this city three-tenths of whatever they have with them; of this (tax) one-half goes to the lord of the army and the other is sent to the king of China.

When a ship comes to the gate of this city it is met by the clerks and scribes from among the local population who register the number of whoever there is on board: men, women, children, slaves. Then

the name of the captain is written down together with that of his father, as well as the names of the merchants who accompany him, with the age of each one of them, that is, every man is asked how old he is and whence he comes and from what tribe. Then they write down and register whatever there is on board of goods according to their classes. The most appreciated thing imported to them is the rhinoceros horn, called *khutū* (spelt *khatū*), and the Chinese call it *bishān* (*sic*). Having registered all the cargo of the ship they allow (the sailors) to land and, as soon as they are settled at an inn, they are visited by a eunuch clerk who takes them to the master of the town. Whoever has cleaner and better garments is more respected by them. Then the king enquires about their personal health and how they fared on their voyage, after which he sends them to the house of the eunuch clerk situated outside the town. When they have entered it, seats (*kursī*) are brought to them and they sit on them. Then they are asked about their health and (the eunuch) shows them signs of respect and serves them local fruit and wine. Then he tells them to adjourn to their inn and tells his representatives to look after and care for them. They call the representative fāsām (*fan-chang*).

Then the goods which form the cargo are taken out and placed in (store) houses which are sealed by the clerks, and their sale or purchase is prohibited for the term of six months, till the end of the period of the monsoon (*al-rīḥ*, "wind"). When they have learned that the arrival of ships has stopped and the time has come when no one arrives, they remit the goods to the merchants after having levied the custom fee, which amounts to 30 per cent. ("three out of ten"), and they sell as they wish. The object of this prohibition of trade during six months is that all the import cargoes should have arrived **(17 b)** and the price of them have been stabilized lest the buyer or seller should (suffer) because of low prices or sustain a loss. It often happens that the amount of goods in a year increases and the market is spoilt, or the amount dwindles and the prices rise. They purchase all with money with which they pay for all goods.

28. All the Chinese are assessed to a poll-tax, with the exception of women and children. When a child is born to them the time of his birth at night or day time is recorded and the document is placed with his father, or his relatives, so that they should not be mistaken about his age. When he has reached the age of manhood he is assessed to the poll-tax, and never do records fail to go to the king of the men who live in his kingdom and of those who have died. The dead are buried only in the year, month, day and hour in which

they were born.[1] If a man has died among his people and in his house, he is kept in a wooden trough (*naqīr*), which has the shape of a coffin. Some drugs are strewn over him which preserve his body from evil smells and decay. Thus, if he was well-off. And if he was poor, some burnt shells are strewn over him after they have been heated and reduced to powder. They absorb his humours and his remains no longer smell. This trough in which they place dead men may remain in the earth one thousand years or more, and it hardly gives off any smell.

If a man dies, a period of three years' mourning is imposed on his wife, as well as on her son and her (*sic*) brother. If a wife dies, a similar period of mourning is imposed on the husband. Men and women weep over their dead at the beginning of the day, in the middle of the day and at the end of the day, so long as the dead body remains with them. If one of them or their relatives does not weep he is punished and beaten and people will say: "Thou hast killed him if his death does not grieve thee." When the time for burying him has arrived and they are about to carry him to the grave, if he was well-off, they put food, fruit and wine on the road from his house to the cemetery, and wrap them up in brocades and silks. After he has been put in the grave these dishes are ransacked (by the crowd). And sometimes, if the deceased was a rich person, his beasts and clothes without exception are carried with him to his place of burial and there looted (*fa-yumazzaqu*). If a Muslim dies in their country and has no heir, his property is taken and placed in the king's treasury and an inscription is put up over it recording the names of the person, his father and grandfather, and the date of his death. And they wait three years and three months and three days and, if his successor comes before the expiration of the term, the property is handed over to him.

The Chinese know each other's age without mistake because all of them record (?) it in writing. Should someone die and leave a child without a tutor, the child is entrusted to the king's clerks for teaching and education and the treasury provides his sustenance. When finally he has reached maturity he is assessed to the poll-tax. When an old man has reached the age of eighty, or even seventy, the king's treasury pays him an allowance and even though he has committed a fault punishable with death or a fine, he is pardoned. If there is an enmity between a man and a woman they are more disposed towards the woman. Their women outdo men in crafts and commerce. They do not cover their hair. A married person

[1] *I.e.* apparently a person born in the year of the Mouse (v.s. §25) was to be buried in the same year of the animal cycle.

who has committed adultery is killed, be it a man or a woman, but the mourning is not remitted thereby. In their markets there are women practising fornication, and the government levies a tax on them. However, these are recruited from among the low and vile.

All this in the city of Sānjū (read: *Khān-fū*, Canton ?), which is a great city.

29. The great city in which the king of China lives is called KHUMDĀN, and it is said that from the city of Chīnānjkath to Khumdān there is a distance of four months through pasture lands.

30. The country of China is vast. The majority of its inhabitants have round faces and flattened noses, their clothes are of silk and brocade. All wear wide sleeves and long skirts trailing on the ground. Their homes are spacious and embellished with porticos (*majālis*) and statues.[1] Their army is numerous. Their king is almost invisible and only his vazir or chamberlain attends on him. The heads of his army see him once a week. If an envoy from a king visits him he is introduced into his presence at a specially appointed time. (At the audience) the vazir stands on (the king's) right,[2] and the envoy is kept at a distance in accordance with the rank of (him who) sent him. Then he prostrates himself and does not raise his head until ordered (to do) so. Then the chamberlain addresses him and he informs him about himself and of the object of his mission. Then the king orders him to be given presents consisting of a cut (*takht*) of textile[3] and of a gilt silver bowl. The envoy returns to the envoys' house and appears daily at the court (**18b**) and gradually approaches (the object) until the answer is given and he is dismissed.

31. Most of their crops are cereals. Whenever the rains have been scanty, prices rise, and when the inhabitants have suffered from scarcity the king sends (his men) to the idol-temples to seize the shamans, to imprison them, to put them in irons and to threaten them with death if it does not rain, and they keep using them roughly till it does rain.

32. In the king's palace there are numerous kettle-drums and drums, and when the sun is about to set the kettle-drums are beaten. When the inhabitants hear it everyone hastens and hurries towards his house. No one remains outside after sunset. The Government agents disperse themselves in the town-wards and on the highways and, if they find anyone out of his house, they behead him and

[1] V. i., this sentence repeated in §39.
[2] Gardizi: "one vazir on the right and another on the left."
[3] Gardizi, 93: *takhtī dībā*.

throw his head into a place specially prepared, over which there is an inscription: "This is the punishment of him who has disobeyed the order of the Government." And one of their laws is that he that has stolen (the value of) more than 100 small coins, i.e. 10 dirhams, shall be killed and shall on no account be spared.

33. In the environs of KHUMDĀN, which is the capital of the king surnamed FAGHFŪR, there are 120 villages, and in each of them some 1000 men of all ranks (*murattaba*). The city has four gates, and when the king mounts 30,000 horse mount with him. It is said that the king of China possesses 360 towns, and daily one of them send him its *kharāj*, together with garments for his personal wear and with a handmaiden to please him. One of their customs is that no one is allowed to monopolise wheat, wood, salt or iron, but these commodities are exposed in the markets and may be bought according to one's needs. In the environs of Khumdān are lakes with islands, and towns paying *kharāj*.

34. The coast of China stretches for two months and, as on a day when there is a fair wind the mariners are able to sail a distance of 50 farsakhs, the extension of the coast is 3000 farsakhs along the sea-shore.

35. To the left of China towards the summer sunrise (N.E.), between China and the Khirkhiz, there is a numerous population. They are tribes with names such as ABRMR, ḤWRNYR, TŪLMĀN, F.RĀHNKLĪ, YĀTHĪ, ḤYNĀTHĪ, BŪRŪ'NĪ, B.NKŪY, FŪRĪ.[1] They make **(19a)** ornaments for their women out of white shells (*wad'*, "cowrie"), which they use instead of pearls.

36. The author of the book *al-Masālik* says that beyond China there is a nation of white-and-pink complexion (*shuqr*) and red hair. The heat of the sun is extreme in their country and they live in underground dwellings which they have built themselves. When the sun rises they enter these dwellings until the sun is about to set and then they come out. However, this record needs (further) consideration because a white-and-pink complexion and red hair are produced by the excess of cold and deficiency of heat, as in the case of the Slavs and the Rūs.

37. One of the customs of the Chinese is that, when a man has committed a crime which deserves a fine and punishment, he cannot be prosecuted before he has confessed and signed (?) a document to this effect. Then this document is presented to the king's clerks and the king orders a punishment appropriate to his crime. And

[1] The transcription of these names, which are undotted in the original, is purely conventional and cannot be relied upon. See the Commentary.

similarly, when he has committed a crime punishable by death, they do not kill him before he has signed a document saying that he has indeed merited execution. This document is read to him publicly that he may agree with it. Then (the judges) suspend the procedure during several hours in order to see whether they have any doubt about the criminal's mind. And only having agreed as to the soundness of his mind do they kill him.

38. One of their customs is that, when someone is leaving the country for a journey, they register his name and the goods and slaves he is taking with him. At every military post where he arrives the document is read and the officer in command reports to the eunuch, who is the king's clerk, that so-and-so, son of so-and-so, safely passed here on such a day and such a month, with his goods and slaves. They do it to protect people's property. He who left their country without the king's permission and was caught is arrested, imprisoned and fined. In some of their lands, when a stranger who has bought a handmaiden and begotten a child by her wants to take her away with him, he is prevented from so doing, for they say: "Why hast thou sown in our soil? Who allowed thee to do so? Now take the crop, i.e. the child, and leave the soil."

39. They take pride in elegance of dress, in the perfect state of their houses and in the number of (their) vases. Their homes are spacious and adorned with porticos, statues and painting (v.s. §30). Their avenues are overshadowed (*mughaṭṭāt*?) by temples built of cypress wood, as are also most of their markets, and every day several times they are levelled[1] and besprinkled. They build **(19b)** the thresholds of their houses high in order that no litter may fall out of their dwellings.

40. Whenever the king wants to enter his women's apartments and to remain alone with the women the astrologer goes up to the roof of the house where he is and observes the stars in order to choose the time propitious for his intercourse with some one of his women.

41. At the farthest end of the Chinese territory lies the land called SĪLĀ (Silla, Shin-lo, Corea). Whoever Muslim or other stranger enters it, settles in it and never leaves it, on account of its pleasantness and excellence. Much gold is found there.

The territories of China lie between the Ocean, the Toghuzghuz territories, Tibet and the Persian Gulf (*sic*).

42. TIBET is a country situated between China, India, the country of the Kharlukh and Toghuzghuz and the sea of Fārs.

[1] Possibly **tuknasu* "are swept."

Some of it lies in the kingdom of China and some in the kingdom of India. The inhabitants resemble those of China, Turkish (lands) and India. Tibet has an independent king and its language differs from other languages. A particular feature of their country is that whoever enters it and settles in it becomes ever gay and smiling without knowing the reason for it, and never a sad (face) is seen in it.

There is a tribe of Tibetans called ARĀ,[1] who live in a land and place called in Tibetan AKHĀY.L, which possesses thick woods, meadows and pastures. They are of the king's people. When the Tibet-khāqān dies childless and there is no one else in the khāqān's family, a man from among them is elected and made khāqān. As regards the place called BĀB AL-TUBBATAYN ("the Gate of the two Tibets"), it is a gate between the mountain SHĪWA and the river KH.RNĀB, fixed on a weak wall built of thorns and earth, and the Tibetans have there a military post where toll is levied from anyone travelling that way, to the amount of one part out of forty.

There is a tribe of Tibetans called ANK-R.NK (lower: *Rānk-R.nk*). These are a poor and weak people (but) they possess gold and silver mines, some of which are in the mountains, and some under the ground. In those which lie in the mountains large nuggets are found like heads of rams and kids, but they do not fetch any of it, saying that, if anyone takes it, death strikes his house and goes on until he **(20a)** has replaced the nugget in its place in the mountains, and only then does death leave him alone. The part of these minerals from which they profit is what they get out of the ground.[2] With that they pay their *kharāj*, which is assessed per head.

Above Rāng-r.nk (*sic*) there is another tribe of Tibetans resembling Turks. They possess cattle and tents and from their place to the frontier (?) of the Tibet-khāqān there is a distance of 20 days. Here lies a place called ZĀB, where a huge river is found, one of whose banks, namely, the eastern one, forms the frontier of China, while the western side is the frontier of Tibet. Chinese merchants bring their goods to the bank of this river and pass over to the other bank in boats which they build of timber and skins. They trade with Tibetans and return on the same day.

43. Tibetan musk is of the best quality and of the purest scent. Musk is the navel of an animal which resembles the largest (kind of) deer. At a certain season of the year the animal becomes agitated and black blood flowing from other parts of the body gathers in its navel. The tumour swells and pains in the head and in the whole

[1] Apparently *Akhā. The following name is *Akhā-yul* "the country of A."
[2] *Yaltaqiṭūna*, "they pick up," but the meaning must be "which they extract."

of the body increase. The animal comes to certain places in the desert where it is wont to roll and does not graze or drink until from the plentifulness of blood its swollen navel becomes detached (falls) and sometimes its horns as well. Some of the animals die there, but some survive and return to the pastures. The navels accumulate on the said rolling-grounds, and, after some years, the blood coagulates, dries up and turns to musk. At the season of the rains Tibetan youths start towards those deserts and often discover rolling-grounds with thousands of (fallen) vesicles and collect what is good of them. But often their endeavours are foiled.

CHAPTER IX

OF THE TURKS

1. The Turks are a great people and consist of many kinds and varieties, many tribes and sub-tribes. Some of them dwell in towns and villages, and some of them in wastes and deserts.

2. Of their great tribes are the GHUZZ, who comprehend twelve tribes, and of these some are called *TOGHUZGHUZ, some ŪY-GHUR, and some ŪCH-GHUR (?). Their king is called TOGHUZ-KHAQAN, and he has numerous armies. In ancient times their king had 1000 life-guards (*shākiri*) and 400 female servants; with him (*'inda-hu*) the life-guards used to eat food three times a day, and after eating, were served with drink three times. Their king only presents himself to the people once in a season (?). They have good customs in government. Some of them live in wastes and deserts, having tents and yurtas (felt-huts, *khargāh*); their wastes march with Transoxiana and partly also with the territories of Khwārazm.

When they came into contact with Muslim countries some of them embraced Islam; these were called TÜRKMÄNS. Open war broke out between them and the others who had not accepted the faith, but in the end the Muslims became numerous, made an excellent profession, and overwhelmed the infidels and drove them out. The latter quitted Khwārazm and migrated to the regions of the Bajanāk (Pechenegs). The Türkmäns spread through the Islamic lands and there displayed an excellent character, so much so that they ruled over the greater part of these territories, becoming kings and sultans.

3. To them (also) belong the QŪN; these came from the land of Qitāy, fearing the Qitā-khan. They (were) Nestorian Christians, and had migrated from their habitat, being pressed for pastures.

Of their numbers [is? or was?] *Äkinji b. *Qochqar (?) the Khwārazmshāh. The Qūn were followed [or pursued] by a people called the QĀY, who being more numerous and stronger than they drove them out of these [new?] pasture-lands. They then moved on to the territory of the SHĀRĪ, and the Shārī migrated to the land of the TÜRKMĀNS, who in their turn shifted to the eastern parts of the GHUZZ country. The Ghuzz Turks then moved to the territory of the BAJĀNAK, near the shores of the Armenian (?) sea.

4. To them (also) belong the KHIRKHĪZ, a numerous people dwelling between the summer east [=N.E.] and the north; the Kimāk live to the north, the Yaghmā and the Kharlukh to the west of them, while Kucha (*K.jā*) and Ark [with regard to them] lie between the winter west and the south. The Khirkhīz make a practice of burning their dead, asserting that fire purified and cleansed them; that was their ancient use, but when they became neighbours with Muslims, they began burying their dead. Among the Khirkhīz is a man, a commoner, called *faghīnūn*, who is summoned on a fixed day every year; about him there gather singers and players and so forth, who begin drinking and feasting. When the company is well away, this man faints and falls as if in a fit; he is asked about all the events that are going to happen **(21 a)** in the coming year, and he gives information whether [crops] will be plentiful or scarce, whether there will be rain or drought, and so forth; and they believe that what he says is true.

5. In the territory of the KHIRKHĪZ there are four watercourses which flow and pour into a single great watercourse running between mountains and dark caverns. It is related that a certain man of the Khirkhīz took a boat and sailed along this watercourse for three days, in darkness, during which time he saw neither sun nor star nor light of any kind. Then he emerged into light and open air and left his boat. Hearing the sound of the hoofs of beasts, he climbed into a tree to watch; three horsemen came along, each as tall as a long spear, and with them were dogs the size of oxen. When they came up to him and saw him they took pity on him, and one of them fetched him down [from the tree] and mounted him on his beast, hiding him from the dogs for fear that they should tear him to pieces. They took him to their encampment, set him on top of a tent, and gave him their food to eat, marvelling at him, as if they had never seen his like before. Then one of them carried him and brought him near his own place, guiding him on the road until he arrived there. No one knows who these people were or to what race of mankind they belonged.

5 *bis* (= 5 in Chap. XV). As for the farthest parts of the territories of the Turks there are between Ūj and KĀSHGHAR meadows and steppes wherein are wild camels and various species of wild beasts; there are likewise wild men who have no intercourse with [other] men.[1]

5 *ter* (= 6 in Chap. XV). On this side (*dūn*) of the Khirkhīz, in the direction of Chīnānjkath, there are thickets and forests, overgrown and impenetrable, tangled places, abundant water, and valleys in close succession to one another where rain is continuous. In these forests there dwells a wild people; they have no intercourse with other men, and do not understand their language; they are like wild beasts, and (only) associate with their own kind. The boats which they employ for the transport of their loads consist of the skins of fish and wild animals. **(43 a)** Whenever they emerge from these forests they are like fish out of water. They have wooden bows, and their clothes are of the skins of wild beasts; their food they get by hunting. They are warriors and fighters; when they intend to attack any enemy they go out with their families on foot (seeking to) compute their enemy's numbers; having ascertained this, they set upon them by night, destroying and annihilating them. Whatever falls into their hands and whatever they seize they set fire to and burn, for they do not hold it to be lawful to take the possessions of others, with the exception of weapons and iron. When they desire to have intercourse with their wives, they make them go on all fours, and then have coition after the manner of wild beasts and animals. Their wives' dowries consist of animals and wild beasts. When any one of them dies, his corpse is bound up with ropes and suspended in trees, and there left to rot. Now and then one of them visits a Khirkhīz in search of food; if his quest is granted by the Khirkhīz and he is hospitably received (all is well); otherwise he leaps upon (the Khirkhīz) and slays him, and then flees back to his meadow.

6. To them also belong the KHARLUKH. These formerly dwelt in the mountain of Tūnis (*Tūlis*), which is the Golden mountain, and were the slaves of the Toghuzghuz; [later] they rebelled against them, and migrated to the land of the T.RK.S (*Türgish), which they seized and conquered and usurped the kingdom (or: subjected the king). From thence they moved on to Islamic territories. Of the Kharlukh there are nine divisions, of which three are of the Chigil, three of the B.gh.sk.l, and one each of the B.lāq, Kūk.rkīn (*Küdärkin*?) and Tukhsī.

[1] See also Chapter XV, §21.

7. To them also belong the KIMĀK, a people without villages or houses, who possess forests, woods, water, and herbage; they have cattle and sheep in plenty, but no camels, for camels will not live in their country more than a year. They also have no salt, except what may be imported by merchants, who for a maund of it obtain a fox and sable skin. In the summer they live on the milk of mares, in winter on jerked meat. Snow is plentiful there, and even falls to a depth of a spear-shaft. When the snow falls as heavily as that, the Kimāks transfer their beasts to the Ghuzz country, if there is peace between them. The Kimāk possess underground dwellings (*asrāb*) which they prepare for winter and in them they live when the cold is severe. If any of them wishes to go out to hunt the sable (*samūr*) or the ermine (*qāqum*) or suchlike, he takes two pieces of wood, each three cubits long and a span wide, with one of the ends turned up like the prow of a ship, and binds them with his boots on to his feet. In these he treads, rolling across the snow like a ship cleaving the waves.

8. To the right (South?) of these Kimāks are three peoples who worship Fire and Waters. They trade with foreigners, employing signs, without any vocal conversation passing between them. The foreigner brings his merchandise on a wooden [plank] and then a Kimak comes and puts down opposite it his equivalent. If the owner of the merchandise is satisfied, he takes the equivalent and throws the goods off the plank; if, however, he is not satisfied, he leaves the goods there. They are particularly fond of copper (*shabah*) bowls and red leather bags (*jurab*). They fast one day every year, burn their dead, and do not mourn for them, saying: "We acquiesce in God's decree."

8 *bis* (= 15 in Chap. XV). It is related in the book *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* that there is a certain people who come in boats from a westerly direction (*nāḥiyat al-gharb*) to the Kimāk and trade with them by signs, putting their wares on a plank of wood until they come to terms. They (?) are fond of copper bowls of which they make ornaments for their womenfolk. (While bargaining) they do not speak (44a–b).

9. Towards the *qibla* of the Kimāk is a people called the B.ṢRĪ (?)[1]; they have an independent chieftain, they live in woods and forests winter and summer.

10. The PECHENEGS (Bajanāk) are a wandering people, following the rainfalls and pasturage. Their territory extends a distance of thirty days in either direction, and they are bordered on all sides

[1] The transcription is purely tentative!

by many peoples; to the north are the Khifjākh, to the south-west (*al-janūb fil-maghrib*) the Khazar, to the east (*min nāḥiyat al-sharq*?) the Ghuzz, and to the west the Slavs. These peoples all raid the Pechenegs, who [likewise] raid them. The Pechenegs are wealthy, having beasts, flocks, household property, gold, silver, weapons, ensigns, and lances (*ṭarādāt*). Between the Pechenegs and the Khazar there is a distance of ten days, the country being steppe and forest. There is no beaten track between the two territories, and they travel over (the distance) by means of the stars, landmarks or at random.

11. The territories of the KHAZAR are wide, reaching on one side to a great mountain-(range). At the furthest end of this mountain there dwell two divisions of the Turks, called the Ṭūlās and the Lw'r.[1] This mountain stretches away to the land of Tiflīs. Their city is called SĀR'S[1] (*Sārigh-sh.n ?) and they have another city called KH.TBALIGH[1] (*sic*) (*Kh.nbaligh, etc. ?); in these two cities they dwell during the winter, but with the approach of spring they go out into the deserts (*ṣaḥārī*), where they spend all the summer. Their king rides at the head of 10,000 horsemen wherever he goes. It is their custom, when going forth in any direction, that every horseman carries with him twenty tamarisk pegs two cubits (*dhirā'*) long. When they come to their encampment, they all plant their pegs in the ground surrounding the site, and lean their bucklers against them: in this way in less than an hour round the encampment a wall is made which cannot be pierced.

12. To them (also) belong the B.RDĀS, whose territory is part of the Khazar territory, there being a distance of 15 days between the two tribes. They obey the Khazar king, and supply 10,000 horsemen. They have no chieftain to rule and govern them, but at every place they have an elder to whom they refer their disputes as they arise. Their territory is wide, and contains forests. They raid the B.lkār and Pechenegs. They are handsome and comely and have a [fine] physique. Among them when a girl reaches puberty she leaves the authority of her father, and chooses whom she wants among the men, until finally a suitor (*khāṭib*) comes for her to her father and the latter, if he wishes, gives her away [to the man]. They have swine and oxen as well as abundance of honey; their [chief] property is the fur of weasels (? *dalaq*)[2]. They consist of two groups, one group burning and the other burying their dead. Their land is flat, their trees are mostly the *khalanj*, and they have

[1] On the names, see the Commentary.
[2] Probably the animal called in Russian куница.

tilled lands. The extent of their land is 17 days in either direction; they have no fruits, and they make a drink from honey.

12 *bis* (= 2 in Chap. XV). In the northern direction lies the country of BULGHĀR[1]; it lies between the west (?) and the north, inclining towards the Pole, and is three months distant from Khwārazm. These (people) have two cities, one called SUVĀR and the other called BULGHĀR; between the two cities is a distance of two days' journey, along the bank of a river and through very dense forests, in which they fortify themselves against their enemies. The trees are mostly *khadang*, but there are also hazels. They are Muslims, and make war on the infidel Turks, raiding them, because they are surrounded by infidels. There are in their forests fur-bearing animals, such as grey squirrels, sable, and so on. The latitude of their territory is very considerable (*wa 'arḍu arḍihim kathīrun*), so much so that in summer their day is extremely long and their night extremely short, so short in fact that the interval between twilight and dawn is not sufficient for cooking a pot (of meat).

§12 *ter* (= 3 in Chap. XV). At a distance of twenty days from them, towards the Pole, is a land called ISŪ, and beyond this a people called YŪRA; these are a savage people, living in forests and not mixing with other men, for they fear that they may be harmed by them. The people of Bulghār journey to them, taking wares, such as clothes, salt and other things, in contrivances (*lit.* 'utensils') drawn by dogs over the heaped snows, which (never) clear away. It is impossible for a man to go over these snows, unless he binds on to his feet the thigh-bones of oxen, and takes in his hands a pair of javelins which he thrusts backwards into the snow, so that his feet slide forwards over the surface of the ice; with a favourable wind (?) he will travel a great distance by the day. The people of Yūra trade by means of signs and dumb show, for they are wild and afraid of (other) men. From them are imported excellent sable and other fine furs; they hunt these animals, feeding on their flesh and wearing their skins.

§12 *quater* (= 4 in Chap. XV). Beyond these are a COAST-DWELLING PEOPLE who travel far over the sea, without any (definite) purpose and intention; they merely do this in order to boast of reaching (such and such a remote) locality. They are a most ignorant and stupid tribe, and their ignorance is shown by the following. They sail in ships, and whenever two (of their) boats meet, the sailors lash the two together, and then they draw their swords and fight. This is their form of greeting. They come from the same town, perhaps from the same quarter, and there is no kind of enmity or rivalry

between them; it is merely that this is their custom. When one of the parties is victorious, they (then) steer the two ships off together. In this sea is the fish whose tooth is used in hafting knives, swords and suchlike. Beyond them is a BLACK LAND which cannot be crossed. As for the sea-route, the voyager sailing towards the Pole reaches a part where there is no night in the summer and no day in the winter; the sun rotates visibly over the land for six months, circling the horizon like the revolution of a mill-stone; the whole year thus consists of one day and one night.

13. The MAJGHARĪ are a Turkish people having wide territories reaching a distance of 100 farsakhs in either direction. Their chieftain rides at the head of about 20,000 horsemen, and is called **k.nda*, this name being the distinction of their king. They are a tent-dwelling people, and migrate following the herbage (*kalā*) and vegetation. One border of their territory reaches the SEA OF RŪM, and there are found here (*wa hunāka*) two rivers which flow into that sea, one of them being bigger than the Oxus (*Jayḥūn*). The habitations of the Majgharī lie between these two rivers, whose names are the Rūnā (*Rūtā* ?) and the Atil. Their territories abound in forests, and they also have sown fields. They overcome those of the Slavs and Rūs who are their neighbours, carrying off captives whom they sell in Rūm. The Majgharī are handsome and very comely (*riwā' wa manẓar ḥasan*), their bodies are bulky, and they have wealth and visible property on account of their great commerce.

14. The SLAVS are a numerous people, and between their territories and the territories of the Pechenegs is a distance of 10 days, along steppes and pathless country with thick trees (*ashjār multaffa*) and [abounding] in springs. They inhabit these forests. They have no vines, but possess much honey. They tend swine, and burn their dead, for they worship Fire. They grow mostly millet, and have a drink prepared from honey. They have different kinds of pipes (*mazāmīr*), including one two cubits long. Their lute is flat and has eight strings but no peg-box (*bunjuq*), while (*illā anna*) its pegs are level. They have no great wealth (*laysa lahum sa'at fil-ma'īsha*). Their weapons are javelins and spears, and they have fine bucklers. Their head chieftain is called *suwīt*,[1] and he has a deputy called *sh.rīḥ*.[1] The king has [riding] beasts and on their milk he feeds. The town in which he resides is called KH.ZH.RĀT., where they hold a market for three days in every month. Among them the cold is so severe that they dig deep underground dwellings which they cover with wood, and heat with the steam [produced by the burning] of dung and firewood. There they remain during their winter season.

[1] See the Commentary.

In the winter the Majgharī raid them, and as a result of their mutual raidings they have many slaves.

15. The Rūs live in an island in the sea, its extent being a distance of three days in either direction. It has woods and forests, and is surrounded by a lake.[1] They are very numerous, and look to the sword to provide them with a livelihood and profession (*al-ma'āsh wal-kasb*). When one of their menfolk dies, leaving daughters and sons, they hand his property over to the daughters, giving the sons only a sword, for they say, "Your father won his property by the sword; do you imitate him and follow him in this."

And in this way their education (*nushu'*) was effected, until they became Christians, during the year 300. When they entered [the fold of] Christianity, the faith blunted their swords, the door of their livelihood was closed to them, they returned to hardship and poverty, and their livelihood shrank. Then they desired to become Muslims, that it might be lawful for them to make raids and holy war, and so make a living by returning to some of their former practices. They therefore sent messengers to the ruler of Khwārazm, four kinsmen of their king; for they had an independent king called VLADIMIR (*V.lādmīr*), just as the king of the Turks is called *khāqān* and the king of the Bulghars *b.t.ltū*. Their messengers came to Khwārazm and delivered their message. The Khwārazmshāh was delighted at their eagerness to become Muslims, and sent someone to them to teach them the religious laws of Islam. So they were converted.

They are strong and powerful men, and go on foot into far regions in order to raid; they also sail in boats (*fī sufun*) on the Khazar sea, seizing ships and plundering goods. They sail to Constantinople in the sea of Pontus, in spite of the chains in the gulf.[2] Once they sailed into the sea of Khazar and became masters of Barda'a for a time. Their valour and courage are well known, so that any one of them is equal to a number of any other nation. If they had horses and were riders, they would be a great scourge to mankind.

16. We have mentioned various kinds of Turks and their affairs so far as anything is known of them and the news has been propagated, but without going into the matter at any length because their various kinds and classes, their life, habits and customs are more than it is possible to mention or to describe.

17. HIPPOCRATES and GALEN have much to say about them (i.e. the Turks) and we desire to report some of their sayings.

[1] Or perhaps; "and in the neighbourhood (of the woods) there is a lake" (?).

[2] *Khalīj* may apply to the Straits as well but here the reference is apparently to the Golden Horn.

Hippocrates says that in the country of Europe there is a tribe of Turks and that the Turks resemble one another, but do not resemble other peoples. Likewise the Egyptians resemble one another, except that they grow up in the heat, and the Turks in the cold.

Galen says that the people called SŪRMĀTA (Sauromatae) have small eyes and long eye-slits (*tiwāl al-alḥāẓ*).

Hippocrates says that Turkish food and customs are similar (everywhere). Therefore they grew similar in their persons, and distinct from other peoples. And indeed they do not resemble them either in their features or in their habits. He adds: on this account their features have grown thick and fleshy so that their joints do not appear, and their bodies are soft and damp (lymphatic), with no strength.

Galen says: Turkish lands are cold and damp with plenty of water, steppes [23b] and mines. The Turks are care-free and have no exacting occupations. He adds: their joints do not appear, i.e. their joints are hidden and invisible on account of the abundance of flesh, for damp (lymphatic) constitutions engender much flesh which is damp, cold, fat and weak. Therefore Turkish constitutions have become damp and cold.

18. Hippocrates says: their intestines are very damp and secrete much discharge. This, because it is impossible for intestines to grow dry, as happens in such a country and in such natural and climatic conditions, as ours. He adds: their bodies are very obese and necessarily (?) hairless. He adds: such conditions are not favourable for having many children for libido does not incite men towards women and coition in view of the dampness of their constitutions and of the softness and coldness of their intestines. At another place he says that the child-bearing of their women is infrequent on account of the softness and dampness of their entrails. As regards the dampness (it is explained by the following facts); (1) their wombs cannot catch and attract the sperm; (2) the purifications which affect the women every month do not occur as they ought to because their purifications become little (and) take place after long periods; (3) the mouths of their wombs are obstructed by the abundance of fat; (4) as all their bodies grow fat, cervices uterorum earum necessarily also grow fat. Whereas thin and lank limbs have the passages open and the openings broad, fat limbs have narrow openings; therefore (Turkish women) do not conceive often.

Galen says that the fact that they conceive seldom is the result of several causes, such as the narrowness of their cervices, the fact

that they are not properly purified every month, the fact that the attractive force inherent in the wombs is weakened by the cold and dampness found (in their bodies), so that the sperm, not being caught rapidly, becomes corrupted on account of its lightness and dampness before it has reached its destination.

At another place Galen says that Turkish women do not conceive often because they are care-free and tranquil; as to their hand-maidens and slaves, by dint of their movements and activities their bodies are shaken and discharge the excess of dampness contained in them. Consequently, their wombs dry up, they conceive rapidly and their children become many [24a].

19. Hippocrates says that many Turks, on account of what we have related about them, become like eunuchs, grow impotent with their women, do women's work and talk like women. Indeed, what he says is found and attested in the inhabitants of some of the Turkish lands, but those who live in deserts and steppes and lead a nomadic life in winter and summer, are the strongest of men and most enduring in battle and warfare. There are two classes of them: (1) those who possess chiefs and kings whom they obey and with whose decisions and orders they comply, and (2) those who owe allegiance to no one but themselves and over whom no one rules; these are the strongest and the most energetic and courageous.

Hippocrates says that in Asia there are people who owe allegiance to nobody and over whom no one else rules, such as the Ionians and Turks. They are free men who govern themselves and let no one else govern them. What they do and gain they do for themselves, not for anybody else. These are the most courageous, vehement and warlike and, thanks to their (common) perseverance in war against those who fight them, they take booty in equal parts (?).

20. Galen says that their women fight like men and that they cut off one of their breasts so that their entire strength should go into their arms, and their bodies grow slim (enabling them) to jump on to the backs of the horses.

Hippocrates has mentioned these women in some of his works. He calls them AMĀZŪNAS, which means "those who possess but one breast," for they cut off the other and they are only prevented from cutting off the (remaining) breast by the necessity of feeding their children for the perpetuation of their race. (The reason why) they cut off one breast is in order that it may not hamper them in shooting arrows on horseback.

21. As to the class which has kings and chiefs, there are numerous tribes of them, namely, those which we have previously mentioned.

CHAPTER XII

ON INDIA

(32a) 1. The Indians are a great nation comprising numerous races (castes ?) of various kinds and of widely different views and religions. They inhabit the southern quarter of the oecumene. Their lands are numerous, with extensive areas, and the outlying parts of them are far-flung, stretching as they are down to the limit of habitation where cultivation and procreation cease and the existence of animals comes to an end.

2. Their known races (castes) are seven, namely:
The SHĀKBĪRIYA (**chakravartiya* ?), who in their caste are the noblest, and all the castes prostrate themselves before them, while they do not do so before anyone. The king belongs to them.

3. Then the BRAHMANS, who have the leadership under the king. They prostrate themselves before the Sumanī,[1] but the latter do not do so before them. Some of those who belong to this caste do not drink wine or intoxicating drinks.

4. The *KISHTARIYA (*kshatriya*), who do not drink more than thrice (at a time). The Brahmans do not give (their own women) in marriage to them but marry theirs.

5. Then the SHUDRIYA (*śūdra*), who are agriculturists and husbandmen. The Kshatriyas marry their (women) and give them theirs, while the Brahmans marry theirs but do not give them (their own).

6. Then the BAYSHIYA (*vaiśya*), in whose caste are craftsmen and tradesmen. None of the enumerated castes intermarries with them.

7. Then the SANDALIYA (*caṇḍāla*), singers and players. Their women are beautiful and sometimes Brahmans become infatuated with them so as to abandon for them their religion (but otherwise) none of the castes mentioned touches them.

8. Then the DUNBIYA (*ḍomba*), who have a dark complexion[2] and are performers and musicians. People treat them as caṇḍālas, but the latter do not mix or intermarry with them.

9. Among their arts and sciences is magic. They pretend that by this means they obtain what they want, heal poisonings while

[1] *Shamani*, "Buddhists"?
[2] I. Kh., 71, also has *sumr*, cf. *infra* §47, but another possible reading is *qaum samar*, "entertainers."

they remove the poison from the one who has drunk it, or subject another person to it.

10. Here belongs telepathy (*lit.* "imagination and thought"), and people (?) pretend that by this means they work wonders. By it they operate on the absent, while they bind and unbind things, both harmful and beneficial. Here also belong sorcery (**nīrang*), suggestion and the production of phantoms (?), which bewilder the sage and baffle the mind of the expert.

11. Here too belong the *sīmābandāt* (?), i.e. wonderful talismans which they produce and invent, as well as their claims to stop rain and hail, and the fact (is) that those who are in India acknowledge their (proficiency) in this science by giving to the masters in it definite yearly rewards.

12. Here too belongs medicine, in which they claim wonderful achievements in preserving health, putting off senility, increasing strength and intelligence, and healing inveterate and refractory ailments.

13. Here too belong arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and the skill of the Indians in these sciences.

14. Here too belongs the science of singing and the construction of various musical instruments and the science of dancing in which no one attains to their standards.

15. Here too belong their military science, different formations (of troops), various arms and swords, the quality of which is proverbial, multifarious drums, fifes, trumpets, tuned to the voices of elephants, lions, tigers, and other instruments, the sound of which daunts the heart of men.

16. And among this race is a people living in the neighbourhood of Mount AL-DĀBIR (?)[1] in the eastern part of India, in the land called QĀMŪR (*Qāmrūp, Kāmarūpa, Assam), who possesses more beauty than any other nation.

17. There are 99 creeds (*milal*) and sects found among the enumerated castes which are grouped under 42 religions. Of the latter some recognise the Creator and believe in prophets (*anbiyā*), but others, though confirming the existence of a Creator, reject (God's) apostles (*rusul*)[2] and prophets; others again reject both a Creator and apostles and some reject everything but confirm the truth (of) Retribution and Punishment, and these are the Shamans (Buddhists).

[1] Dānir, Dāyir, Dāhir?

[2] In the author's idea the gods Vishnu and Shiva are "envoys" of the invisible God. To preserve this special point of view and the etymology of *rasūl* (from *arsala* = ἀποστέλλω) we have rendered the term conventionally as "apostle."

18. There are some who say that Retribution and Punishment consist in rebirth in happiness or in misfortune, and that Paradise and the Fire are apportioned to one's actions and are not lasting.

[*Division A*]

19. Among those who believe in the Creator are the Brahmans, who pretend that God's apostle unto them was an angel called BĀSDĪW (Vāsudeva). He came to them in human shape as an envoy (of God) but without a Book. He has four hands; in one of them he holds a bare sword; in another a ploughshare; in the third a weapon called *shakr*,[1] which has the shape of a large ring with sharp edges; in the fourth a noose. He is seated on a giant bird (*'anqā*) and has 12 heads, each resembling an animal. They give an interpretation of all this, but it would take too long to explain it. They say that (Vāsudeva) ordered them to make an idol representing him, which they worship and circumambulate three times a day, with music and the burning of incense. He also told them to worship cows (v. i. §59), and whenever they meet a cow they prostrate themselves before her. He also told them not to cross the Ganges, and a Brahman who has crossed it loses his religion.

20. Of them are[2] the *MAHĀDAWIYA (adepts of Mahādeva) who pretend that God's envoy unto them was an angel called Mahādawiya (Mahādeva), who approached them in human form riding on a bull and wearing a crown surmounted by bones of the dead and a similar necklace. In one of his hands was a human skull (33b) and in another a three-pointed lance, while he was fanning himself with a fan made of peacock's feathers. He told them to worship God and to make an idol having the likeness of himself, which they worship and which is their path to the Creator. Also not to despise anything because all things are the Creator's work. Also to wear necklaces of human bones, to make caps of the same kind and to smear their faces and bodies with ashes. Also to clothe themselves from the waist to the feet with rags, two fingers broad and having the length from their ankles to their waists, dyed in various colours forming whole pieces and not sewn to each other except at the waist. It is forbidden them (to eat) killed animals, to marry and to acquire property, their sustenance being what they get as alms. They are experts at wonderful magic.

[1] Marginal note: *archad*.

[2] Further on we drop these words recurring at the beginning of each paragraph.

21. The Kābāliya (*Kāpālika*) pretend that their apostle is an angel called Shib (Śiva) who approached them in human form, smeared with ashes and wearing on his head a red felt cap (*qalansuwa*) three spans high with parts of human skulls sewn onto it, his necklace, belt, bracelets and ankle-rings being of human bones. In one hand he held a human skull and in the other a drum similar to that of the Mahādeva. He ordered them to make a round object in the shape of a phallus, two cubits long and a cubit in diameter, and called *sh.bl.nd* (**shibling*), which means "the Apostle's phallus." He told them to worship this object because they assume that the cause of procreation in the world is the phallus. So they go about naked wearing only the above mentioned cap. Et ingentia tintinnabula suspendunt membro virili ut eius erectionem impedant, sunt enim interdictae eis mulieres. When they pass by someone of their sect they bow to him et tintinnabulum membro suspensum pulsant ut eum propitient. Some of them pierce their bodies and through the holes pass rings made of copper, iron or lead, just as rings are passed through the ears, and other rings are suspended on these rings like a cuirass.

22. The Rāmāniya (are the adepts of) Rāmān (Rāma) who was a tyrannous king and exceeded the measure of oppression. He pretended to be [God's ?] envoy and ordered his people to worship him, saying that it was conducive to the Creator's pleasure, and much other nonsense (**34 a**).

23. The Rāvaniya (adepts of Rāvaṇa) say that by Rāvan's intermediary they seek the guidance of the Creator who accepted (Rāvan's) repentance and gave him a lance. So they made Rāvan their prophet.

[*Division B*]

24. As regards those who believe in the Creator and Retribution and Punishment but believe [*not] in (God's) envoys, they affirm that God had invited the people to worship Him and by the fact that he put into their hearts the love of Good and the hate of Evil He rendered them independent of anybody, so that they should not do to anyone what they themselves do not accept from other people. And this is their law set in their minds. God needs only to be worshipped by men. They pretend that Paradise is to be reached by the exertion of the mind and by opposing the nature of the body. Some of them say that this is not enough for them unless they have tortured their bodies and occupied their nature with various torments during which no leisure is left for revolt and no tendency to frivolity.

25. There are some who pretend that the attainment of Right and the attack upon (*hujūm*) the True Reality consist in the destruction of the body and in liberation therefrom, for souls (abiding in it) are accessible to all kinds of sin while they embellish anything wicked and impede anything noble.

26. Those belonging to the class (*milla*) Rishiya are the people who by long meditation have annihilated their passions. They claim that angels appear to them and that they acquire from them all that is propounded in books, morals and especially in magic. They live in the mountains where they build themselves shelters of plants and herbs. They feed on fruits (berries ?) and herbs. All their lives they remain with their eyes closed revolving their meditations.

27. The N.krīniya (**Nigaḍa-bandha* ?), i.e. "those fettered in iron." They shave their heads and beards and of their bodies hide only the privy parts. They plate their waists up to the breasts with iron in order that their bellies may not burst from the abundance of learning. They do not teach or speak to anyone until he has embraced their religion.

28. The K.nkābātriya (**Gāngāyātriyā*) are scattered through all Indian lands. One of their customs is that whenever a man has committed a sin, or disobeyed one of his parents, or done anything wicked, from wheresoever he be, from the farthest or nearest ends of India, he repairs to the river Ganges and takes a bath in it. Therein consists the purification of his sin, and if he dies on the way to the Ganges his (repentance) is accepted.

29. The Rājtartiya (**Rāja-martya* ?) are the king's party. Their religion is to serve the kings and to strengthen their power. They say: "Wherefore should we torture our bodies, without removing any inconvenience or obtaining any profit?" They are the cleverest people in fighting with swords and bucklers and the most stubborn in fighting, the least easily wearied and the most contented with little until the time of remuneration (comes).

30. The Bhādr.riya. One of their customs is to let their hair grow long and let it fall equally on all sides of their heads while they look from under it. They wear the *qabā* (long mantle), with their hands out of the sleeves which hang before and behind them. Their chests and backs are naked and they gird their waists with chains. Each of their men is accompanied by another who holds the said chain in his hand and prevents him from running amok when he is overflowing with strength and might do so on account of the violence of his religious ecstasy. They do not drink wine. They go on pilgrimage to a mountain of theirs called Jūrghar to lament B.hādrz

and glorify Jūn who created the earth from B.hād.rz's skin, the mountains from his bones, the waters from his blood and the trees and plants from his hair. According to them there were three brothers—B.HĀDRZ, JŪN and M.RSH.

[*Division C* (?): *Idol-worshippers*]

31. The MAHĀKĀL.NKIYA (**Mahā-Kāliya*), who have an idol called Mahākāl. They say he is a devil (*'ifrīt*) worthy of worship on account of his great power. This idol has four hands, is of blue complexion, with long hair, with grinning teeth, a naked belly, and an elephant skin on his back from (which ?) blood is streaming. In both his ears are snakes. They also say other nonsensical things.

32. The DĪVATHRIYA (?). One of their customs is to make an idol and to carry it on wheels, with a high canopy over it. They pull the chariot and go round the crowds (playing) on string instruments and performing various games. And at that time there is no courtesan in the country who does not put in an appearance. Before most of them walk crowds while they are seated on elephants and horses decked with many precious jewels. And so they keep going about with the idol. This happens in the spring time. Then they put the idol back in its place. To this idol belongs a treasury in which there are likenesses (masks ?) of human faces representing ancient kings, chiefs of countries and ministers, as well as likenesses of animals, birds and ferocious beasts. On that day of festivity the men **(35 a)** put on these masks, but when the festivity is over all these things are returned to the treasury.

33. The BH.K.QBIYA (**Dahkīniya*?). One of their customs is to make an idol in the shape of a woman, having a crown on her head and, before her, a bare sword, and other weapons, etc. When the Sun has entered Libra in the Zodiac they hold a great wedding ceremony and festival before that idol, gathering garments and boughs of trees as many as possible, as well as various perfumes. They bring sacrificial animals, such as sheep, cows and buffaloes, and throw hay before them. As soon as their heads are lowered they strike their necks with swords before the idol. They also treacherously kill, as a sacrifice to the idol, whomever they come across, so that on such days people beware of treachery. As to their kings they seize a fair-haired man with blue eyes and fix in front of the idol a dagger, or some such thing, and order the man whose shoulders are bound, to prostrate himself before the idol over the dagger. When his forehead has touched the dagger they deal a blow on his head so that the dagger penetrates through his forehead

into his head, well into the brain. Their belief is that by this procedure they will obtain a reward both in this world and the next. Then they pay homage (to the martyr), manifest great joy, have amusements (*lahw*) and games, eat and drink. This is a community despised by all the Indians.

34. The JALABHAKTIYA (**jala-bhakta*), i.e. "Worshippers of the Water." According to them Water has an Angel who is the origin of every growth; in him is the foundation of Life and through him are secured duration, prosperity, procreation and purity. A man enters the water up to the waist and stays in it for a couple of hours, or more, holding in his hand aromatic plants. Then he cuts them into small pieces and throws one piece after the other into the water while he praises God and recites (prayers). When he wants to go away he takes some water and pours it over his head and on the parts of his body which are out of the water. Then he prostrates himself before the water and departs.

35. The AKNHŪṬRIYA (**agni-hotrā*) are Worshippers of Fire. They dig a square pit for the fire, gather over it and turn round it while they throw into it food, clothes, perfumes, gold, silver and jewels, whatever they have found. To them belong kings and nobles. They say that the Fire is the noblest of the four elements and the most excellent of them in its substance. **(35 b)** They blame him who has burnt himself with fire, saying that he has polluted the Fire.

36. The sect of WORSHIPPERS OF THE MOON. According to them the Moon is an angel and (in his honour) they make an idol on wheels drawn by four (animals). In the hand of the idol there is a jewel. They fast half of each month and break their fast only on seeing the new moon. At that time they go up on the rooftops, burn perfumes and look at the moon with a pleasant mien (?). Then they come down, break their fast and play and dance before the idol.

37. The WORSHIPPERS OF THE SUN make an idol in its honour drawn by four horses. In the hand of the idol there is some object of the colour of fire. According to them the Sun is an angel, and they approach (the idol) with prostrations, circumambulations (burning) perfumes and (playing) various instruments. The idol has estates and revenues, and in connection with it they tell all sorts of terrifying and impious (stories).

38. The BHĀBARNIYA (?). One of their customs is that one of them enters the graves and brings out one of the dead being in the most horrible condition, for they do not bury their dead (properly). Then he enters the town and reproaches the people, calling them

together with the words: "Oh, ye sinful rebels, captured by your passions and enslaved by your habits, how long will you marry your mothers and kill your fathers ? " and so on.

39. The *JIRĀMBARADHARA (*cīrāmbaradhara*, "wearers of bark garments" ?), i.e. "those who dress in tree-leaves," are a class living in woods and dressing in the leaves of a tree which is called *j.br* (*cīra* ?) and the leaves of which are as large as a loose garment. They do not mingle with other people and expose themselves to wind and rain, saying: "We undergo all this in exchange for the breeze of Paradise, for the enjoyment in it (Paradise) of the large-eyed Huris and for the garments of Paradise."

40. The AMĪRK.JARIYA (**mṛga-cara*), i.e. "those resembling wild animals," walk on all fours and feed on herbs (which they crop) with their mouths. They do not shave their heads and use no artifices for satisfying their needs as if they were beasts.

Besides this, they have (other) nasty ways and beliefs.

41. Some of them burn themselves with fire and some drown themselves in water, some starve themselves to death so that they die after twenty days and sometimes remain alive even thirty days.

42. Some of them roam in deserts until they are dead, some precipitate themselves from a high mountain in their country under which they place a (sort of) tree made of iron with sharpened boughs and branches. The man throws himself on it from the mountain and gets cut into pieces.

[*Division D: Buddhists*]

43. They have many tales about Buddha and the bodhisatvas on which they meditate. Most of them believe in metempsychosis.

[THE KINGS]

44. Most of their kings consider fornication lawful but the king of Qimār forbids fornication and wine drinking and prosecutes (the culprits) with capital punishment. None of their kings indulges in wine drinking with the exception of the King of Sarandīb (Ceylon), who drinks without respite and wine is brought to him from the Arabian lands.

45. Beyond him is the kingdom R.TYLĀ, the king of which is called *FĀNDĪN (*Pāṇḍya*), after whom comes the king called AL-FĀRTĪ, after whom comes the king called AL-ṢAYLAMAN (*Ceraman*) who is the greatest of the three and has the most numerous army. His army has huge contingents but its elephants are few. However, the Indians say that the elephants of Ṣaylamān are the most intrepid

in battle and the strongest of all elephants. It is said that the king possesses elephants 10 cubits high, though it is also said that his elephants do not exceed the height of 8 cubits. However, on the nearer side of Ṣaylamān there is a country called AGHBĀB ("the gulfs") which in the days of old was ruled by a woman (cf. §57), and they have elephants taller than 10 cubits and up to 11 cubits.

46. Then comes the king called BALLAHRĀ, reigning in the country called AL-K.MKĪ (*al-Kumkam*), which is a vast kingdom abounding in men, and round it are kings who obey Ballahrā.

47. And in this kingdom (country, India ?) there are kings, one of whom is called AL-ṬĀFIR (**Ṭāqin*). His kingdom is small but rich and well cultivated. The inhabitants are dark or white, and (among them) beauty is common. Slaves from this country possess a beauty not equalled by any one else.

48. After him comes the king called JĀBA (?). They are the noblest of the lot, and Ballahrā, who is a great king, takes ladies from them and from no one else. In their forests there grows red sandal.

49. After him comes the king called *JURZ (*Gurjara*), in whose kingdom justice and security prevail. Even if gold were thrown on the road no one would dare to pick it up. The country is vast, and merchants from Arabia visit it for commerce and deal with (the inhabitants), and it is reported (**36 b**) that they are honest in business, kind and charitable. Business with them is done by means of pieces of gold and the dirhams called *ṭāṭirī*, with the king's effigy on them, each dirham weighing one mithqāl. When their bargain is finished the king sends with (the merchants) someone to protect their goods and to escort them out of the kingdom.

50. After him comes another king who is more opulent than (Jurz ?)[1] and more justice-loving. He says to the merchants and travellers: "Go out as you like. If anything happens to you and if you have any losses, take from me, as I stand surety for you." He has a numerous army and many elephants. He wars with Ballahrā and other kings.

51. After him comes a king called D.H.M (**Dharma-pāla*), who possesses a huge and well-equipped army, more than 300,000 strong. He starts on expeditions only in winter lest water be insufficient for their needs, for they use up their rivers to the last drop.[2] In their

[1] §50 apparently refers still to Jurz (§49). The text must be restored: "there is *no* other king more opulent than he."

[2] In a parallel passage Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 384, says: "(RHMY) wars only in winter because elephants have little patience of thirst and have little endurance in that state."

country good cotton is found, the like of which is not found elsewhere. From it kerchiefs are made which are called *shāra-yi shāhī* ("royal turbans" ?),[1] and other stuffs which being folded pass through the opening of a signet ring.

52. After him comes a king called Qāmrūn (**Qāmarūb-Kāmarūpa*—Assam), whose kingdom adjoins the country of China. He has a small army and in his country are territories producing gold in lumps like a man's palm. Their gold is better than that of China.

All these kings have pierced ears.

53. The king called D.h.m has many lands; among them is a town called H.dkīra with a market about a farsakh (long). Rhinoceroses and cows called *ghizghāw* (yaks ?) are found (in this kingdom), which adjoins the coast of the Sea of Aghbāb.[2] This is an unpleasant (?) sea, (but) on its coast lie many vast towns. The business is carried on by means of gold (-coins) and cowrie-shells, but the latter are more in use, and they call them *k.bth* (?). Their rivers flow to the sea in which there is an ebb and flow of fresh water.

54. After this king follows a group (dynasty ?) of people called Banū Munabbih, who pretend to be descendants of Sām b. Lu'ayy, They are kings of India and read the khuṭba in the name of the Imām of the Muslims. Their lands lie near Manṣūra and the income of these kings is from the revenue of the Idol of Multān. This idol has a large income and its property is in the hands of the Banū-Munabbih, who take advantage of it in order to dominate the kings of India. The idol, it is said, stands over 20 cubits and has the face of a man. Over it is a huge roof. The Indians pretend that [the god represented in] this idol descended from the heaven and ordered them to worship him, and also that this roof was built 2000 years ago. The idol has attendants who look after it. All Indians go on pilgrimage to it (even) from places situated at one or two years' distance. There they shave their heads and circumambulate seven times, moving towards the left. They roll on the ground before the idol, pray humbly and show signs of humility. The idol has four faces; whichever way they turn there is a face in front of them. While circumambulating they prostrate themselves before each face. When someone of them dies who is well-to-do he bequeaths to the idol a part of his property or (even) the whole of it. Some among them carry their contributions (*al-māl*) to the idol from a distance of a year's journey. Some of them solicit the idol's permission saying: "Allow me to die," and then kill themselves before it.

[1] Evidently to be read in Persian.
[2] "Sea of Gulfs," more probably "of Lagoons"?

The idol has priests who do not visit women, do not kill anything, wear only clean garments and perfume themselves when about to go before the idol. When someone appears before (the idol) he kneels down, stretches out his hands, prays the idol to look at him and to have pity on him, weeps and shows signs of humility. The idol has a kitchen in which every day various kinds of food are cooked and spiced. Then they spread before the idol a very broad banana-leaf and heap on this the prepared food to the height of a man. They circumambulate the idol-temple with cymbals, drums and flutes; and often a hundred handmaids (are seen) turning round it. One of the priests stands by the food and fans it with a banana-leaf as though to cool it. He closes the door and afterwards proclaims: "The (food) has been granted as alms and nothing of it is lacking." Then anyone of those present, whether men, cattle, wild beasts, or birds, feeds on it, and no one is prevented from doing so. And they say that this is (the idol's) daily alms.

55. They also say that in the Ganges valley there is another ancient idol-temple visited in pilgrimage by the subjects of the king D.h.m, and indeed devotees from among them repair thither and arrive there naked and attenuated with their eyes sunken and skins shrivelled from the excess of mortification. They cast themselves down before the idol where there are predatory vultures which are accustomed to eating human flesh. Some of the (pilgrims) feign death and the vultures approach them and first of all peck out their eyes which they patiently endure. Gradually they peck out their flesh until they have destroyed it. Often the vultures slit their bellies and eat the bowels while they look at them with resignation and piety.

56. Beyond this kingdom there is a king called Ṭ.rsūl. He has numerous subjects and towns. The people are white and have long hair which they let loose. They possess many horses and cattle and their kingdom is vast.

Beyond them is a king called al-Mūsa. His towns are built of stone and they have plenty of musk.

Beyond them there is a king called al-Mānk whose kingdom adjoins the country of China.

It is said that these three kings: al-Ṭ.rsūl, al-Mūsa and Mānk, fight the Chinese but cannot withstand them because the king of China has more troops and is stronger in power. Both the beginning and the end of these kingdoms adjoin the country of China.

All the kings of India wear adornments, jewels, necklaces, bracelets and double baldrics covered with pearls.

57. In the kingdom of D.H.M there is a land called URF.SHĪN, which lies on the sea-coast. In the days of old its ruler was a woman called *Rāniya (cf. §45). Her kingdom has a pestilential (climate); most of the Indians who enter it die, but there is much profit in it for merchants. The queen was an astute person, and D.H.M, in spite of the number of his troops and the magnitude of his power, could not wage war on her. She used to fight in person. She had an enormous body such as no one has (ever) seen.

57 *bis* (= 17 in Chap. XV). Opposite Sarandīb (Ceylon) there is a town called RĀMSHĪR, separated from Sarandīb by mountains rising from the sea and standing close together. Beyond (the town) there is a tribe of cannibals who kill (their victims) and cut them to pieces. In the woods of Sarandīb there are naked people whose language is unintelligible. They do not possess an articulate speech but use something like whistling. They have very small bodies and their stature does not exceed 4 spans. They are wild, avoid men, and climb onto trees with their hands without using their feet.

58. This is what is known about the coast of the SEA OF AGHBĀB (v.s. §53) and its population. After it follows the country of ZĀBAJ,[1] whose great king is called Maharāj, which means "king of kings." This country consists of islands. We know of no king more charitable than he, more powerful in his equipment and army, or having more revenue. It is said that daily he receives 50 maunds of gold from cock-fighting, for this (sport) is common in his kingdom. The thigh of every cock which has won belongs to the government and the owner has to redeem it from the latter by paying one dīnār, more or less. It is also said that the king's daily revenue reaches 200 maunds of gold. He had numerous islands, one of which is called B.RIĀY.L, and mariners **(36 a)** say that the Antichrist is there. The inhabitants of this island have beautiful faces like "hammered shields"; they plait their hair like the tails of post-horses. At night sounds of musical instruments (*ma'āzif*) are heard in the island and (the mariners) see fires kindled and hear the voices of men. The Mahārāja's people swear by the Fire and when two of them have a dispute before the sultan, a piece of iron weighing a *raṭl* is taken and heated in the fire until sparks fly from it. Then leaves of a local tree resembling the laurel are taken and placed on the palm of the defendant's hand, up to the number of nine. Then the heated iron is taken with tongs and placed on the leaves (lying) on his palm,

[1] This abrupt passage indicates a gap formed by the omission of a number of paragraphs on the southern seas, arbitrarily transferred into the factitious Chapter XVI. These paragraphs are: §10—Lankābālūs; §11—the island of Jinns; §13—a native does not appreciate money; §16—silent trade with islanders; §17—Rāmshīr opposite Ceylon; §18—good swimmers; §19—Bālūs; §23—Wāq-wāq.

and the man must seven times walk a distance of 100 steps backwards and forwards. If the leaves and the palm of his hand are completely burnt, his crime is proved; if the latter be punishable with death, he is killed; if it is punishable with a fine, a well-to-do man is fined with (the loss of) his property, whereas a needy one becomes the sultan's slave and he may sell him as he likes.

59. Among Indian laws is one that if anybody kills a cow he is put to death for it (v.s. §19).

60. Someone who visited India said: "I reached AL-QANDAHĀR.[1] Its king is a mighty (ruler), strong in punishment, strong in zeal. If any of his generals or soldiers has drunk wine the penalty is as follows: one hundred rings are heated in the fire and placed on his hands and often he perishes thereby. Other punishments consist in cutting off both hands, both feet, the nose, both ears and both lips (of the culprit). If the king is victorious over one of his enemies he cuts off his ears or lips and then lets him go, saying that after this he is no longer fit for reigning. When anyone visiting his country offers him a present he rewards him richly, for he gives him a hundredfold (of his present).

61. The original devotees in India come from QIMĀR. It is said that there are 100,000 of them there and that they are the R.MĀDIYA possessing a special hymn to God. [Some traveller] said: "I sat near one of them and he drew a little aside from me for they do not approach Muslims saying that they are unclean as they eat cow's flesh. I once saw one (of the Indians) who was visited by one of the great devotees. The latter started speaking in Indian, in a tongue which I understood. The meaning was: "O, Thou **(38 b)** like whom there is nothing." I cried to my friend: "Dost thou know what he says?" He replied: "O, wonder! And do you know what he said?" I said: "Yes. Since you have recognised that there is nothing like Him, why do you worship the idols besides Him?" He said: "Verily, (this?) is our *qibla*, just as your *qibla* is (but) stones built and laid in tiers, and yet you worship them."

62. The king of QIMĀR has a mountain with aloes. The said devotees are there. The mountain is long and wide. The king of Qimār has several judges, who try cases between men. Were the king's son to approach them with reference to some dispute, they would seat him beside his opponent and try the case regularly in accordance with religion and with absolutely no bias. The kingdom of Qimār is not so great as the other kingdoms of India, but its king

[1] Probably *Qimār, i.e. Khmer, Cambodia.

holds a high rank, is victorious and possesses many elephants. His presents to the Arabs are elephants' tusks.

63. After his kingdom comes the country AL-ARH.N. The inhabitants are white and pleasant-looking. They marry their sons just as they give away their daughters [at an early age], considering this the proper thing.

64. In the territory of LŪHŪVAR there is a town called RĀMIYĀN which possesses an idol reclining on one side, with (other) idols standing upright around it. It also possesses an idol of gilt copper which is their greatest idol. To it belong many incomes from land and shops in the market. It has thirty courtesans who are paid from the same sources, and the people avail themselves of them for nothing, and thereby they[1] seek merit. The courtesans are never absent from the temple either by night or day.

65. After this town comes the town of JALHANDAR with an idol which has numerous sources of revenue and villages. It possesses a courtesans' house. This town lies (within ?) the frontiers of the Great Rāy.

66. After it follows the town of S.LĀBŪR, which also lies within the frontiers of the Great Rāy. In it merchants live and very numerous wares are to be found. There are in it many idol temples with numerous sources of income, every one of which amounts to 100,000 dirhams, more or less. They have also courtesans' houses. The town has three markets, all of them being markets of courtesans whose fees go to the idol. Some of them are worth 1 dānaq, some 2 dānaqs, but mostly the fee is 1 dirham without any addition.

67. Another town is called B.RĀHŪN (*B.rājūn* ?) which has a large market open four days in a year, at which people gather from all parts. It has 700 houses belonging to idols. (The latter) possess sources of revenue and courtesans' houses regularly organised. In each house there are 10 or 12 of them. When someone of the rich (inhabitants) dies he bequeaths some of his property to this temple. And he who is a chief among their chiefs marries from 20 to 100 women. The Rāy is among them what the Caliph, or the Supreme Sultan is with us. When he mounts, one hundred of his chiefs mount with him, each of whom has 10,000 horse. This Rāy believes that all the Earth is his kingdom, and no one dares to say in his presence that in the world other kings are obeyed besides him.

[1] Probably, the courtesans.

CHAPTER XIII

OF THE ḤABASHA

(39 a) 1. The ḤABASHA ("Ethiopians") are a category under which come different classes (of people) such as the NUBIANS, ZANJ, etc. Their territories consist of extensive countries with a wide-stretching periphery the extremity of which ends where habitation ends and cultivation and procreation ceases. And as their lands are removed from temperate climes their features (too) have become different, a black colour has become prevalent among them because of the excess of heat in their region, (for) we had mentioned previously that harmony in features and in the appearance of limbs is a consequence of the balance of humours, and the latter is a consequence of temperance in soil and air. When this is borne in mind one sees that the most appropriate places in which pleasantness of features is realised are the countries situated in the middle of the oecumene or near it, such as the territories (*mamlaka* ?) of the Persians, Arabs and Byzantines and the nearer parts of the country of the Turks. But as regards those who live on the periphery of the oecumene and in the more distant climes, in view of their (geographical) remoteness from temperate conditions, a disproportion, which is the opposite of harmony, is found in their limbs and in their complexion, as is the case with the Ḥabasha, and quite especially in their farther lands. In them one discovers certain repellent forms and ugly features, such as protuberance of the eyes, flatness of the nose, large nostrils, flapping of the lips and their formation in the shape of those of beasts or cattle. All this is explained by their remoteness from the middle (zones), by their nearness to the torrid zone (?) and by the predominance of excessive heat in their climate. Heat being the most powerful cause of attraction, this explains their growth upwards, so that their stature becomes very tall, and as heat expands the things and opens them, their souls are expanded outwards and they are always found to be gay, playful and laughing.

2. They belong to the group opposed to the Turks because the TURKS receded from temperance on account of the excess of cold in their country. The property of cold is to join, to make massive, to tighten and to collect the parts. This (actually) takes place in the farthest part of their country, especially in the country of Yājūj (Gog). Therefore their stature shortens, their eyes become small, their nostrils and mouths become narrow and their souls compressed, so that their joy diminishes. Heat is limited to their

insides because cold thickens their pores (*masāmm*) and therefore their stomachs get hot, and their digestion strengthens and becomes good. Then their flesh increases and their brutality augments, contrary to what happens to the Ḥabasha.

3. The latter seldom get angry or sad. Their eyes and mouths and other apertures widen, the digestion of food worsens, their bodies are nourished only with heavy food because light food does not stay in their intestines till it is digested, but is soon dissolved on account of the breadth of their apertures and the wideness of their pores. So their flesh and fat do not increase because heat melts them. Their bodies grow light, their stature, being attracted by heat, grows tall. And as their bodies are attracted, so are their crops and trees, and a tree of theirs shades 10,000 horse.

4. Ḥamza b. Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī reproduces (a report of) Ḥasan b. 'Amr al-Sīrāfī how the latter saw huge trees in the land of the Sūdān. In the land called *Kānam he saw two trees which shaded 30,000 horse. The king of that people lives on top of them, one thousand steps leading from the ground up to the king's abode. On the two trees there are abodes made of wood. There live the king's servants, wives and retinue, (**40 a**) some 10,000 human beings. It is reported that in their country the cotton plant becomes a tree which a man can climb. Their bodies are in proportion to their trees.

5. Blackness of colour is their general characteristic. They are unlike the Indians, whose complexions vary between black, brown and white, for heat in India does not reach the degree of perfect scorching. The same is true of Arab countries. As for the heat in the lands of Ḥabasha and Zanj, it reaches the extreme limit in scorching. They find beauty in the intensity of blackness and abhor whiteness and hold that a white man cannot be healthy. There are some among them who eat the whites.

Some people prefer blacks to the whites. What led them to this assumption was the fact that they had seen many Arabs and Indians who possessed an abundant share of spiritual and physical gifts and whose complexion was blackish, as they also had seen that, if some whites had black moles, it added to their beauty and pleasantness. When someone looks at much blackness, his sight improves and becomes acute; but if he looks at much whiteness his sight is wearied, as someone's eyes are tired by snow. But this judgment must be rejected; it is a pronouncement which has no reality before reason. Indeed, the science of nature and the knowledge of its essence decide in favour of whiteness for this is a simple

and primitive natural colour set as the (basic) element for the totality of colours, which are put on it, and then it is coloured by them and it receives them all. In this sense blackness is the opposite of white and of the other colours between them. The intermediate colours are composed of these two and, by dint of the proportion of them in a mixture, numberless colours come into being. The black colour does not receive anything of other colours. The scholars in natural sciences say that the white colour is born from the influence of light on one of the four elements which receive it. Its opposite is the black colour which is born from the influence of darkness on the elements which receive it. The superiority of Light over Darkness is a fact which is not hidden (**40 b**) from the sage. Light is an essential quality in the noble heavenly bodies which God Almighty constituted as the causes of the existence of whatever there is in this world. (On the other hand) blackness is a quality which negates (light) and is unlike (it). The argument is so clear that it dispenses with the trouble of proofs. (So) it has been established that the blackness of complexion of the Ḥabasha and Zanj is no superiority. It is only a result of the absence of temperance and the excess of scorching in their climate. Blackness, though a defect, has its use in some instances; (such is) its physical utility, through its usefulness for sight, for it collects light and narrows the opening of the eye, and consequently does not allow light to spread; (such is) its political and moral utility, as when the government agents dress in black in order to inspire the subjects with awe and fear.

6. It is said in the *Tawārīkh* (Histories) that one of the kings of Khorasan crossed the Oxus in order to fight the Turks. In his troops there were some Zanj. When the Turks sallied forth to meet them, they saw the Zanj, whose appearance frightened them, for they imagined that they were demons or some other kind of supernatural beings. So they were put to flight and retreated without fighting. When the kings of Khorasan were informed of this they increased the numbers of Zanj and Ḥabasha and put them forward in fighting the Turks. But finally the Turks got accustomed to seeing the Zanj, and killing one of them saw that his blood was red. So they said: "His blood is like human blood and so are his limbs," and their fear ceased.

7. In the *Ta'rīkh Mulūk al-Turk* ("History of Turkish Kings") it is related that one of them called B.k.j became related by marriage to the king called Jabbūya. Among the dowry and numerous gifts which he despatched to him was a Zanj porter who

was a wonder among the white. They used to bring him to their assemblies and express their astonishment in looking at his appearance and colour. He possessed (great) sagacity, power of thought and valour, and he succeeded in performing many great deeds. The king attached him to his person and his station continuously grew in elevation and solidity. Finally he attacked the king, killed him, occupied his place and seized most of their provinces. **(41 a)** He assumed the title of QARĀ-KHĀN, which no one had held before him, for it means "Black khaqan." His dignity was great, so whenever the Turks after him wished to honour a king they addressed him as "Qarā-khān,"[1] in Turkish *qarā* being "black" and *khāqān* "Supreme Lord." So Qarā-khān means "Black Khāqān."

CHAPTER XV

OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE REMOTE OUTLYING COUNTRIES AND OF THE ISLANDS

(42 a) 1. As the habitat of the people living in the outlying parts of the oecumene and on the islands situated far away from the centre is remote from temperateness, so their morals, natures and mode of life are also remote from it. Their deviation from temperance is the result of either of two factors, namely, cold and heat in the North and the South respectively.

2. See Chapter IX, §12 *bis* (Bulghār).
3. ,, ,, §12 *ter* (Īsū, Yūra).
4. ,, ,, §12 *quater* (Northerners).
5. ,, ,, §5 *bis* (Kāshghar).
6. ,, ,, §5 *ter* (Qūri ?).

7. ABŪ SA'ĪD 'UBAIDULLĀH IBN JIBRĪL related that in the year 434 (A.D. 1043) he saw a number of Orientals who had come to perform the pilgrimage, having only recently adopted the faith. Among them was one who could understand and knew how to speak, and he reported many strange things, among them that near their country, and to the north thereof, there were mountains in which were creatures having the form of men, except that the males had tails like the tails of dogs twisted up behind, but the women were of the form of human women; all went naked, being hidden by nothing but the hair on their bodies. The sea casts up for them little fish the size of three spans, and on these they subsist.

[1] Cf. the letter from the ruler of Qitā to Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Ch. VIII, §22.

8. As regards the southern parts, their deviation from temperance is conditioned by excessively scorching heat, so that the nature of the inhabitants becomes removed from that of men and approaches that of wild beasts.

9. In the farthest lands of the ZANJ there is a tribe of theirs living on the sea-coast and having no buildings, fields or animals. Heat oppresses them excessively. They have underground dwellings which they dig out and make deep. At day time they take refuge in these dwellings, which they cannot leave until at sunset the sun (disk) has shrunk. Their food is fish, fruit and trees (?). Their lands include meadows and intertwined trees. They are of ugly appearance and extremely tall, with flapping lips, lop-eared, with wide ear apertures and nostrils. They eat the flesh of the whites whom they have vanquished. It is their custom after a victory over some whites to imprison them on an island of theirs lying in the sea and to give them food in abundance of whatever there is in their possession, so that their bodies fatten and their flesh increases, after which they slaughter them and eat them. Their king and queen have special rights to this dish, but if it is plentiful other persons partake of it. On account of their heat they are hard pressed by lust. Sometimes, when the whites are brought before the king that he may make his choice of whom he wants to be slaughtered, the queen's eyes fall on someone whom she finds good and she selects him as food for herself, takes him into her underground dwelling and dallies with him. If she discovers in him strength and mastery in coition, she spares him, cares for him and feeds him with the kind of fish which increases sexual power. She continues to avail herself of his services until he grows weak and tired, and when he becomes impotent she kills and eats him. Sometimes the man seizes an opportunity and runs away.

Traders from neighbouring countries visit their lands with the object of hunting their children and young people. Accordingly they repair to their meadows and hide in the woods carrying with them dates (or fruit ?), of which they drop a little on the children's playing ground. The latter pick up the dates, find them good and search for more. On the second day they drop the dates a little farther away than on the first day, and so they gradually go farther and farther and the children, whose minds are set on the dates, follow them, and when they are far (enough) from their paternal houses, the traders leap upon them, seize them and carry them away to their land.

10. In the Indian sea there is an island called LANKABĀLŪS

(Nicobar islands) which is said to measure 700 farsakhs in diameter. The language of its inhabitants is incomprehensible. In their sea amber is found, but they do not profit by it. They follow the ships, and by means of signs and gestures buy iron, but they do not demand anything else.

11. Beyond them lies an island whose inhabitants are black and ugly. They kill whoever they find, outside themselves. After having cut them to pieces they leave them suspended and then swallow them raw. Some people call them JINN, and this (nickname) occurred to them because they saw their bestiality in eating strangers. Then everybody from outside avoided them and shunned them, and as no one mixed with them, their position became ignored in intercourse (?). By spurning them the others increased their enmity. Some people visited them in whom wickedness was ingrafted and so their enmity became strong and they became like demons (*jinn*) by their isolation and concealment from men, or even like devils on account of the ugliness of their faces and forms.

12. The ugliness of appearance, the deformity of limbs and stature, the excess of height represent nothing strange in the negroes and islanders. Some of them go naked and do not hide their shame. But then necessity obliges them to trade and barter, and this can go on only by dumb show,[1] which secures safety to the parties. Most of the islanders deal for iron, salt and loin-cloths. Dinars are seldom current among them.

13. Some sea-trader says that a rough sea (obliged them to) cast anchor and land at an island, and he offered a dinar to a native who took it, smelt it, tasted it and then returned it being dissatisfied that he could not discover any use in it.

14. In a corner of the Ḥabasha sea (Red Sea) there is a tribe of BERBERS whom traders visit. They deal and trade with them from afar, with watchmen and guards (standing by) as if they are afraid of them, their custom being to castrate (*yujibbū*) the strangers whom they discover, and this is their only mode of procedure. Then they hang their male parts with the scrotum in their houses, taking a pride in the number (of their spoils) and boasting about them.

15. See Chapter IX, §8 *bis* (Kimäk).

16. A group of merchants visit the nearer islands belonging to India in order to buy cloves, and it is a fact universally known that they are bought by dumb show[1] on account of the hatred between the parties. The maritime traders travel to the island which is

[1] The trade in which the parties put together the equivalents of their respective goods and do not meet personally, cf. Index, under "Dumb show."

the "CLOVE MINE," and on their arrival anchor their ship and start in boats towards the shore, and (there) spread out leather sheets, place, each on his sheet, their purses with dinars, and at night retire from the island. In the morning they return in their boats to the same place and find in each sheet a heap of cloves as an equivalent for their money. They fetch (the cloves), but if someone is discontented (with the bargain) he leaves (the cloves) where they are, returns on the following day and finds his money, as it was, in the purse under his seal, while the cloves have been taken away. No injustice happens in their bargains. The island is large but at daytime no man is seen on it and no cloves. When night comes a great uproar and much shouting is heard on it and no one ventures to penetrate into the island. Whoever enters it or stays behind, no trace of him is found afterwards and nothing is known about him.

17. See Chap. XII, §57 *bis* (Rāmshīr).

18. In the sea there are some white folk who by swimming overtake ships even though the latter move as swiftly as the wind. They bring amber in their mouths and sell it for iron.

19. The inhabitants of the BĀLŪS island are cannibals.

20. A well-known (*ma'rūf*) shaykh and practising physician, who had travelled a great deal **(45 a)** says that he stayed with an Arab tribe in a desert lying in the direction of AL-AḤSĀ. He asked for hospitality and remained with them. They entertained him with salt jerked meat for they had no food but locusts, milk and game. Says the Shaykh: I told them one day that I wanted some fresh meat, and they said they would ride out on the following day for a hunt and take me with them. In the morning they mounted and so did I. When we penetrated into the desert they said to me: "Thou dost not know the ways of hunting, so stay at the watering place of the wādī and when the game arrives drive it back to us." The road was narrow and I stopped, and lo, a crowd with human faces, men, women, and children, came up and pointed to (me) with shouts resembling speech that (I) should get out of the way. I did so until they had passed. They were naked and their bodies were covered with soft hair like fur. When all of them were gone the hunters came on their trail. They said: "Whither is the game gone?" I answered: "I have seen no game, only a group of naked people who asked me to clear the road and so I did." They laughed and said: "The cheats have duped you." And they had with them a number of these beasts which they had slaughtered and slung on their horses. On seeing them my soul was moved with disgust. I shunned participating in their repast and refrained from eating

meat, but they said: "What you have been eating all these days was this same animal." And they forced me to eat it, but it nauseated (*'āqat*) me and so I left them. And this is the animal called *nasnās* ("faun"?).

21. It is said that in the deserts stretching between BADHAKHSHĀN and KĀSHGHAR there is a considerable number of this animal.

22. It is mentioned in the *Akhbār Iskandar* ("Alexandrian lore") that when he was about to enter the kingdom of darkness a tribe of this kind appeared before him and they rivalled his army in numbers and he was obliged to fight and exterminate them. They were a kind of ape (*qarada*) and their bodies were covered with hair like those of apes.

23. I have read in the *Kitāb al-Baḥr* ("Book of the sea") that in the island of WĀQ-WĀQ, where ebony grows, there is a tribe **(45b)** whose nature is like that of men in all their limbs, except the hands, instead of which they have something like wings, which are webbed like the wings of a bat. They, both males and females, eat and drink while kneeling. They follow the ships asking for food. When a man makes for them, they open these wings and their flight becomes like that of birds, and no one can overtake them.

COMMENTARY

CHAPTER VIII

CHINA

On the earlier Muslim description of China see Ferrand's collection of texts *Relations de voyages . . . relatifs a l'Extrême Orient*, I, 1913, II, 1914, and bibliography in *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 223–8.

The chapter is a complicated patch-work of quotations from various sources. Its contents are as follows:

(*a*) General introduction: 1. The Seven Climes. 2. General characteristics of China. 3. Ṣīn, Qitāy and Yughur. 4. The Chinese and Byzantines as craftsmen. 5. The Chinese do not mix with other people. 6. Mānī's law.

(*b*) A merchant's report: 7. Y:njūr and Kūfū. 8. A block of wood carved into an image. 9. Mānī on images. 10. Self-propelling carts. 11. Gambling. 12. Tailoring.

(*c*) More on goods and merchants: 13. Bihāfarīdh's shirt. 14. The *Akhbār* on a eunuch's shirt. 15. Goods imported and exported. 16. The 'Alavī middlemen.

(*d*) General: 17. Language and religion. 18. Chinese once in Samarqand, now divided.

(*e*) Land routes: 19. to China, Yughur and Qitāy. 20. The Shārī or Basmīl. 21. Policy of Qitāy and Yughur.

(*f*) An embassy to Maḥmūd of Ghaznī: 22. A letter of the lord of Qitāy and his presents. 23. Ditto of the king of the Yughur. 24. Maḥmūd's reply. 25. Animal cycle of twelve years.

(*g*) Maritime routes: 26. Lūfīn, Khān-fū, curfews, goods. 27. Malik of Khān-fū; Chinese are white; registration of cargoes; the *fan-chang*, the monsoon.

(*h*) Chinese customs: 28. Poll-tax. 29. Mourning, courtesans.

(i) General: 29. Khumdān the capital. 30. Clothing and dwellings. 31. Priests responsible for bringing rain. 32. Curfews. 33. Environs of Khumdān; 360 towns in China. 34. The sea-board of China. 35. Tribes between China and Khirkhīz. 36. *Al-Masālik* on a red-haired nation.

(*j*) Customs continued: 37. Criminal procedure. 38. Passports. 39. Clothing and homes. Astrologers in the king's gynaeceum.

(*k*) Sīlā (Corea): 41.

(*l*) Tibet: 42. Its divisions. 43. Musk.

The introductory section on the Climes is probably borrowed from al-Farghānī. As for the rest of the Chapter, the author himself quotes among his sources the account of a merchant who travelled to China, as well as the *Akhbār* (?) and the *Masālik*, but, although

with regard to the merchant the text positively states: "I met a clever man" (§7), a closer analysis of the passage leaves no doubt about its having been transcribed from an earlier work.

Under the name of *Akhbār* Gardīzī refers to a work of Ibn Khurdādhbih, which is not otherwise known. Barthold, *Otchot*, 79, tentatively identified it with *Kitāb jamharat al-Furs wal-nawāqil*, "Genealogies of Persians and their colonies," quoted in the *Fihrist*, 149. As our §14 is not in Gardīzī, it is probable that, in this case, *Akhbār* refers to some collection of reports, similar to that going under the name of Sulaymān the Merchant.[1] In fact, §29, on mourning, etc., is very close to Sulaymān, ed. Reinaud, p. 37. The description of the maritime road to China is more likely to have been inspired by I. Khurdādhbih's work, *BGA*, VII, 69.[2]

The *Masālik* is referred to in a paragraph (§36), which is also found in Gardīzī the latter quoting Jayhānī as his source. One should imagine that the other items coinciding in Marvazi and Gardizi had also passed through Jayhani's huge and important compilation.[3] Here is the abstract of Gardizi's chapter on China with the indication of the parallel §§ in Marvazi.

Gardīzī	Marvazi's §§
Road to Khumdān	29
China is a vast kingdom	30
Silk clothes with long sleeves	30
Streets covered	39
Dwellings have statues	30 and 39
Army of 400,000	30 ("numerous")
Chinese clever	8 (? many more details)
Good textiles and vases	12 (?)
Abū Zayd (Balkhī?) on the Ghuzz being China's neighbours	deest
Frontiers: Khotan, India, Bolor, Gog and Magog	deest (Sulaymān, 59: Toghuzghuz, Tibet)
I. Khurdādhbih says every traveller to China becomes a sage	deest, but cf. I. Kh., 170_3
Many kings under the Faghfūr ..	deest
Yellow brocade and white horses reserved for the Faghfur	deest
Visible once a year when he rides to the ancestors' tombs	deest
Great audience with musicians ..	deest
Only the vazīr, the ṣāḥib (?) and the envoys admitted to the king	30 (vazīr and ḥājib)
Reception of envoys	30
Astrologers in the king's gynaeceum ..	40

[1] Compiled in 237/851 and completed by Abū Zayd Sīrāfī c. 303/915. Cf. Chap. XV, §23, in which some *Kitāb al-baḥr* is referred to. It is noteworthy that I. Kh., 62, quotes some reports of Mariners (*dhakara baḥriyyūn*) on the pepper-plant of Southern India.

[2] But the data may have passed through Jayhānī.

[3] On the original source, v.i, §29.

Gardīzī	Marvazi's §
Crops not irrigated	31 ("cereals")
Priests responsible for rains	31
180 drums in the palace	32 ("numerous")
Curfew	32
Crimes punishable with death ..	32 (more details)
A red-haired people living beyond China	36 (from *al-Masālik*)

The question of the direct sources of our text does not cover the problem of the original reports responsible for single items. Many details indicate that Marvazi's data relate to different times and places. All the items in which Manichaeism is said to be the religion of the Chinese (§§6, 17) are earlier than A.D. 843. The traditional name of the Chinese capital in §29, namely, Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu), takes us back to the T'ang epoch and is entirely different from the later capital of Y.nchūr (Yung-chou?), which flourished in the post-T'ang time, see §§7, 19. The data on the K'itan embassy belong to 418/1027. Different sources account for some repetitions (§26—curfew in Canton, §32—ditto in Khumdan; goods for China §§15 and 26) and inconsistencies (the item on the appearance of the Chinese disturbs §27).

In brief, the primary sources which one can recognize are as follows:

(*a*) Some ancient (eighth to ninth century A.D.) accounts of Arab mariners: §§14–17 and separately §§26–28, 37–39 and 41.

(*b*) Some overland travellers to the capital of Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu) under the T'angs (early ninth century A.D. ?): §§6 (?), 29–35.

(*c*) Some merchant who visited the capital of Y.njūr probably in the beginning of the tenth century: §§7–12.[1]

(*d*) Data collected personally by Jayhānī (early tenth century A.D.): §§42 (partly), 43 (?).

(*e*) Data of an embassy from Qitāy in 418/1027: §§3, 5 (?), 18–25.

(*f*) Marvazī's own remarks: §§2, 18 (?).

With the exception of (*e*) and (*f*), most of the remaining items may have passed through Jayhānī as intermediary.

§1. The division of the earth into climes comes appropriately at the beginning of the chapter on China, the latter being considered the easternmost country of the world. The division is an ancient Greek[2] one, but even in translating Ptolemy Arab geographers introduced their additions into the original scheme, see Khuwārizmi's *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Mžik, and Barthold's Preface to the *Ḥ.-'Ā*, 10.

Apart from some minor alterations, the description entirely corresponds with that found in al-Farghānī's *Fil-ḥarakāt al-samāwiya*,

[1] The authority (*b*) calls the emperor Faghfūr, whereas the authority (*c*) refers to him as Tafghāj-khān.

[2] The Seven Climes appear in the oldest Greek geographers, see E. Honigmann, *Die Sieben Klimata*, 1929, pp. 10-30.

ed. Golius, Amsterdam, 1669, p. 35.[1] Practically the same text is reproduced in I. Rusta, 96–8, Muṭahhar, IV, 49–53 (Seventh Clime left out), *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, 479–81, and Yāqūt, I, 29. By some slip, Marvazī skipped the original Sixth Clime and then quoted under the "Sixth Clime" the description of the Seventh Clime, and under the "Seventh Clime," the data referring to the zone which I. Rusta calls "what is beyond the aforesaid climes, down to the end of the inhabited lands." Marvazī slightly abridges the enumeration of places.[2] The island al-K.rk is spelt *al-K.rl* in Ferghānī and Khuwārizmi, *al-Kwl* in I. Rusta and the *Mujmal*, and *al-K.rk* in Muṭahhar and Yāqūt. De Goeje in his note to I. Rusta, 96*c*, identifies it with "Kūlū or Kūlam" (Quilon). According to Nallino, *Atti dei Lincei*, 1896, II/1, 39, the island which Khuwārizmi calls "*al-Mydh* or *al-K.rl*" is meant to represent Gujarat, cf. also al-Battānī, ed. Nallino, II, 51, No. 239. The people *Myd* (*Mydh ?) or *M.nd* are often quoted by early Arab writers as occupying the coastal region of the Sind and Kathiawar, see Minorsky, *Mand* in *EI*. The Myd were notorious pirates, and in this connection it may be placed on record that some mysterious *al-K.rk* plundered Jedda in 151/768. Two years later Manṣūr sent against them a naval expedition from Baṣra, see I. Athīr, V, 455 and 466. The question of *al-Myd/al-K.rk* is complicated by Ibn Sa'īd (d. *circa* A.D. 1286 ?), as available in Ferrand's translation, *Relations*, 336. Ibn Sa'īd places the islands of M.nd at the end of the First Clime. The principal island was called *K.lwa*, and had three towns: *K.lwa* (the capital), M.nd and Knk. It is added that the inhabitants are brethren of those of Hind and Sind, but they have been either expelled or subjugated by the Zanj. Here the ancient *Mydh* seems to be confused with the Kilwa of the Somali coast.

The arrangement of the Climes in Biruni's *Tafhīm*, ed. Wright, 143–5, is somewhat different. Biruni begins the Sixth Clime with "Eastern Turks, such as Qāy, Qūn, etc." Marvazi quotes these rare names in his Chapter IX, §3, but does not introduce them into his list of the Climes. Altogether divergent is the description of I. Faqīh, 5–7, who is more dependent on Ptolemy, etc. (through Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārizmi, quoted *ibid.*, p. 4 ?), and whose enumeration is accompanied by some general characteristics of the Climes.[3]

[1] Its author is usually supposed to have worked under Ma'mūn (A.D. 813–33), but this assumption is by no means certain, as the astronomer's father, Muḥammad b. al-Kathīr, is said to have been employed under Mutawakkil (A.D. 847–861), see Brockelmann, *GAL*. I, 221, and *Supplement*, I, 392.

[2] In I. Rusta's Sixth Clime *Burjān* follows Constantinople and evidently corresponds to the Bulghars. In the Seventh Clime, *Burjan* comes before the Slavs and probably also refers to the Bulghars. In the zone "beyond the Climes," after the Alan come *al-Abar* "the Avars," *Burjān* and the Slavs. Marvazi leaves out the Avars but keeps *Burjān*, which at this place may originally refer to the Burgundians, cf. I. Khurdādhbih, 92, 119, Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 190, *Ḥudūd*, 419, 447.

[3] Cf. on Arabic Climes, Honigmann, *o.c.*, 112–83 (Ptolemaios und die Araber etc.).

§2 is the author's own conclusion, the influence of geographical surroundings being his favourite theme. In the chapter of the Persians (ff. 11a–12b) the author quotes Hippocrates, Galen and Aristotle to show that "the life of the inhabitants (of a country) depends on the character of their habitat" and that "the specific factor (*akhaṣṣ al-ashyā*) in a man, as in every animal, is the soil (*turbatuhu*) on which he develops, because the character of the soil conditions his own character."

§§3 and 5 announce §18, which describes the situation after the rise of the Qitay (K'itan). §4 is of a general character. The story of the "blindness" of other nations must be old. A parallel to it is found in Abū Manṣūr Tha'ālibi's *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, ed. Jong, 1867, p. 127. The author lived 350–430/961–1038, and used Jayhānī, but is, in style at least, independent of Marvazī. As the "one-eyed nation" he quotes the Babylonians (*ahl-Bābil*) and not the Byzantines.

§§6 and 9 have a common background in the supposition that all the Chinese follow the law of Mānī, which indicates A.D. 843 as the *terminus ante quem* of the original report, v. i. §17. §9 looks like an uncritical repetition of an obsolete view.

§§7–12 are connected by the person of the narrator. As in §7, *Y.njūr* (Ho-nan-fu ?, cf. §19) is mentioned as the capital of China, the merchant in question must have visited China after A.D. 907. The first person of "I met a merchant" apparently refers to Jayhānī, whose lifetime corresponds with this period, but as the first traces of the report (the block of wood, self-propelling carts, gambling) appear in Marvazī (cf. 'Aufī), we have to suppose that it was incorporated only in some later copies of Jayhānī's work.

§13. The Zoroastrian reformer Bihāfarīdh was executed by Abū Muslim in 131/748. The green silk shirt which he had brought from China was worn by him to prove his celestial origin, see Houtsma, *Bihāfarīdh*, in *WZKM*, III, 30–7, and *E.I.*, and lately Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens*, Paris, 1938, 113–131. No "previous" mention of *Bihāfarīdh* is found in Marvazī, but 'Aufī gives a pretty complete version of Bihāfarīdh's story, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 93 (= No. 1624 in Niẓāmu'd-dīn's list). He may have taken the details from a passage omitted in our copy of Marvazī, but it is possible that in this particular case he made direct use of Jayhānī's *Masālik*, cf. Nizāmu'd-dīn, 101–3, 249.

§§14–16 (plus §§26–28, and possibly §§17, 41, etc.) refer to the maritime region of China and form one stock of information. The person[1] responsible for it is much interested in all that pertains to commerce and displays a truly Arab vivacity of mind and love for the picturesque and the marvellous. In §14 Marvazī quotes some written source which he calls *al-Akhbār*, and which may be identical with "some Maritime Merchants" (*ba'ḍ al-tujjār al-baḥriyyīn*) and

[1] Perhaps several persons?

with *Kitāb al-baḥr*, quoted elsewhere (ff. 44a and 45a).[1] The narrator, or narrators (cf. §14), had in view the situation in Khān-fū (Canton), where Muslims were in such force that in A.D. 758 they raided the city. In A.D. 879 many Muslims perished when Canton was taken by the rebel Huang-chao, see Barthold, *Khānfū* in *E.I.*

§14. The story of the eunuch and his five shirts is found in Abū Zayd Sīrāfī, who wrote an appendix to Sulaymān, ed. Reinaud, 74. It is quoted on the authority of an important and trustworthy merchant who sojourned in Khān-fū (*sic*). [Perhaps the Quraishite Ibn al-Wahhāb, v.i. §29?] Cf. 'Aufī, No. 1965 (from Marvazi ?).

§15. On importations into China see Sulaymān, 35 (minus amber) and 'Aufī, No. 1905. *Khutū* is repeated under §27, which points either to two sources or to the carelessness of the epitomist in summing up his material.

§16. The story of the 'Alid intermediaries established on an island (near Canton ?) is of clear Shī'a inspiration and its fluent style reflects the influence of some pious lore. The details about the destruction of snakes is to be connected with legends concerning 'Alī, "the slayer (*lit.* 'render') of the Serpent, or Dragon (*Ḥaydar-i ḥayya-dar*," cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §13, 2., and p. 282. There is nothing improbable about an early penetration of 'Alids into China. In fact, they played for Islam a role similar to that of the Nestorians for Christianity. According to the report found in the *Fihrist*, 344–5, after the execution of Abū Muslim (d. A.D. 755), one of his disciples Isḥāq al-Turk carried on the extremist propaganda of the Abū-Muslimiya among the Turks of Transoxiana. Some said that he was a descendant of Imām Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī (killed in Gūzgān A.D. 743), and that he "fled from the Omayyads and traversed the country of the Turks."[2] The first convert to Islam among Turkish rulers Satuq Boghra khan of Kāshghar (d. 344/955) professed the Shī'a. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 199, Grenard, *La légende de Satok Boghra*, in *J.A.*, Jan. 1900, p. 1–79; Marquart, *Ǧuwaini's Bericht uber die Bekehrung der Uiguren*, 1912, 495; Blochet, *La conquête des états nestoriens de l'Asie Centrale par les schiites*, in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XXVV, 1926, pp. 3–131 (very disappointing). The story of the 'Alids is shortened in 'Aufī, No. 1965. More interesting is another echo found on Kāshghari's Map. *Baldat al-'Alawiya*, "the town of the 'Alids," is shown on it beyond Bish-balïq to the S.E. of the mountains (Altai ?) from the northern side of which rises the Y.mār (Obi). *Baldat al-nisā*, "The Town of the Women," which figures in the same sector, increases the impression of a *terra incognita*. The only other name seen beyond the Town of the Alids,

[1] V s p. 63

[2] Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, IV, 63 (tr. IV, 60), says that there is a colony of descendants of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī in Khotan, which according to his source (Jayhānī?) is a part of Tibet.

near the coast of the Ocean, is Jāfū, a mis-spelling of some Chinese name, possibly Khān-fū (Canton). Kāshghari must refer to the same colony of 'Alids as Marvazi (§16), but the time which elapsed since Marvazī's original source obscured the situation: the 'Alid settlement had grown into a Shī'a parallel to Prester John's kingdom. Three centuries later Mâqrīzī, ed. Wiet, I, 59, removed the 'Alid colony still further east, to Corea (*al-Shīlā*).

F. Grenard, *Mission scientifique de Dutreuil du Rhins*, 1898, II, 308–15, and Pelliot, *Les Abdâl de Païnâp*, *J.A.*, 1907, janvier, 115–39, have described a curious community in Chinese Turkestan (near Cherchen and Kāshghar), speaking a dialect in which a predominantly Persian vocabulary is combined with Turkish grammar.[1] Both French explorers were inclined to see in the Abdāls "les descendants des chiites . . . qui apportèrent les premiers l'Islam en Kachgharie." Whatever the date of the installation of the Abdāls in Kashgharia they are a typical example of Persian-Shī'a infiltrations similar to that described in Marvazī's source.

§17. For the item on Manichaeism as the religion of the Chinese, v.s. §§6, 9. The Uyghurs (on the Orkhon) were converted to Manichaeism by missionaries from China after A.D. 763, and soon became the official protectors of the creed. Their interventions in Chinese affairs provoked much ill-feeling and no sooner did the Uyghur kingdom fall (A.D. 840) than the Manichaeans in China were disestablished and persecuted (A.D. 843). Marvazī's source refers to the time when Manichaeism was openly preached in China, but at the same time it was the official religion of the Uyghurs also. Consequently when Marvazī speaks of the variety of *creeds* flourishing among the Uyghurs his source may be influenced by the state of affairs obtaining in the *later* Uyghur kingdom of Khocho, cf. Chavannes et Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen*, in *J.A.* 1913, I, 295–305, and a clear resumé in Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, 1939, pp. 173–6.

§18. This paragraph announces §§19–25. The few introductory words about the Chinese having been masters of Transoxiana presuppose the use of a well informed source, for early Muslim historians are silent even on the momentous battle of A.D. 751, in which Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ inflicted a decisive defeat on the Chinese. Following Barthold's indication, *Turkestan*, p. 196, I have found a parallel record on paper in Samarqand in Tha'ālibī's *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, who quotes *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*.[2] Consequently this is one more

[1] Cf. also A. von Le Coq, *Die Abdāl*, in *Baessler-Archiv*, 1912, II/5, pp. 221-8.

[2] Tha'ālibī, ed. Jong, 1867, p. 129: "the author of *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* writes that, among the prisoners taken by Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, there came from China to Samarqand some who (organized) the fabrication of paper there. Then this art increased and the custom persisted and paper became the staple merchandise of the people of Samarqand. . . ." The *Fihrist*, 21, is much more vague: "it has been said (*qīla*) that artisans from China fabricated (paper) in Khorasan, similar to Chinese paper." Abū-Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik Tha'ālibi died *circa* 430/1038.

precious fact from Jayhānī's lost treasure and a link between 'A. Malik Tha'ālibī and Marvazī, both of whom wrote in Khorasan.

As regards the formation of three kingdoms in the Far East following the withdrawal of the Chinese from Turkestan, it is true that the Uyghurs succeeded to the Eastern Turks (T'u-küeh) on the Orkhon in 744, i.e. only a short time before the events in Transoxiana, but Marvazī's text has in view the later Uyghur kingdom of Qocho and Bish-balïq formed by the remnants of the Uyghur, after the occupation of the Orkhon by the Qirghiz (A.D. 840). The K'itan (Qitāy) proclaimed an independent kingdom in Manchuria and northern China only in A.D. 926, but their emancipation began much earlier. During the memorable year A.D. 751 they defeated a Chinese army sent against them, cf. Grousset, *o.c.*, p. 181. Consequently the historical excursus of Marvazī's source (Jayhānī ?) is not incorrect.

§§19–25, with the introductory §18, form one block and are the most valuable part of the chapter. It is probable that a part of the information on the lands to the east of Sha-chou is due to the ambassador from the emperor of Qitay who visited Ghaznī *circa* 418/1027, for it is immediately followed by the account of that embassy. This impression is strengthened by the fact that for the first time the same data, in a different arrangement, are quoted by Biruni in his *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* compiled shortly after 421/1030. Biruni's book on precious stones[1] contains a definite statement that he "interrogated the ambassadors who came from the Qitay-khan" on the value they attached to *khutū* (v.i. p. 83). In every way he must have taken a full advantage of the presence in Ghaznī of the rare guests from the Far East.[2] Biruni's short explanations of the rare guests tally perfectly with Marvazī, but the latter gives many more details. Very probably there existed an official record of the interrogation of the ambassadors and a copy of it had reached Marv.[3]

Biruni's tables give the following co-ordinates in the Far East:[4]

	Long.		Lat.	
Fifth Clime				
Twsm.t in Outer Tibet	110°	0'	39°	10'
Chīnānjkath, i.e. Qocho, residence of the Uyghur-khan	111	20	42	0
Sānjū (Sha-chou?), whence the road separates southwards to China ..	115	10	40	20
Qāmjū (Kan-chou)	116	5	39	0
Fourth Clime				
Third Clime				
T.ksīn (L.ksīn?) in the land of the Upper Turks	120	15	32	50
*Khātūn-sīn, i.e. "The Tomb of the noblewoman"	129	40	31	50
Second Clime				
Y.njū, residence of the Faghfūr of China surnamed Taghmāj (*sic*)-khan	125	0	22	0
Kūfū, a city larger than the capital of Y.njū	127	0	21	0
Ūtkīn	136	30	26	0
Qitā, to the N.E. of China, its Lord being Qitā-khan[1]	158	40	21	40
First Clime				
Sh.rghūd, in Chinese *S.nqū*, which is Mahāchīn	155	0	15	0
Khān-fū, one of the gates (*abwāb*) of China, on a river	160	0	14	0
Khān-jū, one of the gates, also on a river	162	0	13	0
Beyond the First Clime				
Ḥāmt.rā,[2] one of the gates of China, and the estuary of its rivers	166	0	11	0
Sīlā, at the extreme end of China towards the East; few people travelled to it by sea	170	0	5	0

[1] *Kitab al-jamāhir fī ma'rifat al-jawāhir*, ed. by F. Krenkow, Haidarabad, 1355/1936, p. 208.

[2] On his eagerness for knowledge, cf. his *Ṣaydana*, on how he obtained the Greek names of plants from a Greek who happened to visit Khwārazm, see Meyerhoff, *Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Beruni*, 1932.

[3] Close relations must have existed between Marv and Ghazni. In 510/1117 Sanjar put Bahrām-shah on the throne of Ghazni.

[4] I am using B.M. Or. 1997, which is not very correct, but as the tables are arranged in the order of increasing longitudes (and, in our particular case, of decreasing latitudes) the approximate results are reliable enough.

There is no doubt that Biruni calculated his co-ordinates approximately, i.e. from itineraries, and I am grateful to Dr. A. D. Thackeray, Assistant Director of the Solar Physics Observatory, Cambridge, and Dr. Besicovitch, Trinity College, who calculated for me the distances between the more important points in Biruni's catalogue.

	Miles	Km.
Tūsmat—Kan-chou	327	526
Sha-chou—Kan-chou[3]	105	169
Sha-chou—T.ksīn	589	947·7
Sha-chou—Khatun-sīnī	1001	1610·6
Sha-chou—Y.njū	1393	2241·3
Kan-chou—T.ksīn	475	764
T.ksīn—Y.njū	1070	1722
T.ksīn—Kūfū	1200	1931
Y.njū—Kūfū	148	238
Kan-chou—Khatun-sīnī	900	1528

[1] In M. Nazim, *Sultan Mahmud*, 56: long. 113° 40', lat. 29° 40' (*sic*) is an obvious mistake.

[2] Possibly Ptolemy's 'Οττοροκόρρα (long. 166°; lat. 37° 15'), in Khuwarizmi *Oṭṭorāqārā* (long. 149° 10'; lat. 37° 15'). Biruni is more faithful to Ptolemy.

[3] If "Shan-chou" is to be taken for Sha-chou the distance is entirely wrong for the Chinese sources estimate the stretch Sha-chou—Kua-chou—Su-chou—Kan-chou at 1180 or 1316 li, i.e. 680 or 760 Km. Even as the crow flies, the distance is c. 525 Km. (G. Haloun). Gardīzī counts between Sha-chou and Kan-chou 13 days, *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 229.

	Miles	Km.
Khatun-sīnī—Kūfū	766	1232·5
Khatun-sīnī—Ūtkīn	575	925
Ūtkīn—Qitā	1420	2253

§19. The itinerary from Kāshghar to Sha-chou, along the southern line of oases of Chinese Turkestan is very brief. For the 14 days' journey between Kāshghar and Khotan the author quotes only Yārkand. Both the *Ḥudūd*, 260, and Gardīzī, 94, give the stages of this stretch and Gardizi enumerates exactly 14 of them. The common source is undoubtedly Jayhānī. In the stretch Khotan-Sha-chou, K.rwya (Keriya)[1] is mentioned at a distance of 5 stages from Khotan; in the *Ḥudūd* (§9, 21) there are only some faint traces of this portion of the road.[2] The whole distance from Khotan to Sha-chou is 55 stages, but in the important passage quoted below under §43 it is taken as being two months. Sha-chou is known to Gardīzi as the meeting place of roads from Qumul (in the Uyghur region) and the south, v.s. Biruni, under "Sānjū." Marvazi makes three roads start from Sha-chou.

(*a*) Road to China. Contrary to the descriptions in the *Ḥudūd* and Gardizi, which have in mind the road to a point on the Yangtze, our source follows the road southwards, down to Kan-chou (Qām-jū) and then turns away eastwards to L.ksīn (Biruni: *T.ksīn* ?), thence to reach the later capital of Y.njūr (Biruni: *Y.njū*).[3] The distances Kan-chou—L-ksīn, 40 days, and thence to Y.njūr, "about" 40 days, seem to be exaggerated. Reckoning again 32 Km. per day's march, we obtain a distance of about 2500 Km., whereas the distance as the crow flies between Kan-chou and Ho-nan-fu hardly exceeds 1200 Km.[4] According to Biruni, T.ksīn was situated at approximately one-third of the way between Kan-chou and Y.nju, there being 764 Km. between Kan-chou and T.ksīn, and 1693 Km. between the latter and Y.njū. If we content ourselves with this ratio and apply it to the actual distances on the modern maps, we may tentatively place L.ksīn in the neighbourhood of Ning-hsia, which lies about 550 Km. from Sha-chou and 950 Km. from Ho-nan-fu (*via* Hsi-an-fu). Supposing that the itinerary is of the beginning of the tenth century (v.s. §§7–12) we have to think of the old administrative centre of the region Ling-chou (a short distance to the south of the later Ning-hsia).[5] The first part of *L.k*-sīn/*T.k*-sīn could be easily restored as

[1] In Biruni's *Canon* also *K.rwyā* (possibly assimilated to *Karavyā* "caraway"?).

[2] Dutreuil de Rhins, *Mission*, II, 201, reckons from Kāshghar to Yārkand 186 Kms., or 5 stages; thence to Khotan 300 Kms., or 8 stages; thence to Keriya 160 Kms., or 4 stages. Marvazi's average stage is consequently 32 Kms.

[3] The *r* of *Y.njūr* (which is also reflected in 'Aufi's *H.j.r*, Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 98) seems to be superfluous. Marco Polo also adds *r* in a similar name *Succiur* for *Suk-chou (now Su-chou).

[4] Even if the text is to be understood in the sense that 40 days cover the distance Sha-chou—Ho-nan-fu the stretch would not exceed 1500 Km.

[5] Ning-hsia ("Tangut pacified") is a later name which occurs first A.D. 1288. Under the Tangut (since A.D. 1020) it was called *Hing-chou or *Hing-k'ing-fu (G. Haloun).

*Ling-, but *sin-* presents a difficulty since Chinese *-chou* would give *-jū* in Arabic. During the period of the Five Dynasties Ling-chou could have been considered as the frontier town of the Emperor, see Herrmann, *Atlas*, 41.

A welcome supplement to our §7 is Biruni's statement that the second and larger city called Kūfū lay to the south-east of Y.njū. *Kūfwā/Kūfū* looks like a mis-spelling of *Kwf.n* to be identified with K'ai-fêng, the eastern capital of the Sung. The western capital was at that time Ho-nan-fu, which was then called Hsi-king, but during the period A.D. 907–23 *Yung-chou*.[1] Our Y.njūr (*Yun-jū) is a perfect Arabic equivalent of Yung-chou and a close indication of the date at which the original authority visited China. As another reference to Y.jūr is found in §7 in the report of a merchant who sojourned in China, we should attribute to him this part of the itinerary.[2] The K'itan ambassador who speaks of his contemporary Sung (A.D. 960–1279) with some haughtiness, must have avoided their capital. The period at which the capital was at Ho-nan-fu (Y.njūr), corresponds with the time when Jayhānī flourished, and it is natural to connect the item on Y.njūr with Jayhānī's work. Some difficulty lies in the fact that the *Ḥudūd* and Gardīzī, who used Jayhānī, mention Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu) as the capital of China (cf. also §29),[3] but we have reasons to believe that Jayhānī used side by side the works of his predecessors and the data collected by himself (v.s. p. 7).

Whatever the explanation of the name, the position of Y.njūr, as indicated by Bīrūnī (v.s. p. 69), corresponds to Ho-nan-fu and not to Hsi-an-fu. Our firm point is Kū-fū (**Kū-f.n*) *K'ai-fêng. The distance (as the crow flies) between K'ai-fêng and Ho-nan-fu is about 145 miles (233 Km.), and between K'ai-fêng and Hsi-an-fu *circa* 320 miles (515 Kms.). The distance between Kū-fū and Y.njūr, as calculated by Dr. Thackeray from Biruni's co-ordinates, is 148 miles! The indication that Ku-fu was larger than Y.njūr is also important for under the Sung Ho-nan-fu had 233,280 inhabitants and K'ai-fêng 444,940 (though their areas were very much the same).[4]

(*b*) Road from Sha-chou to Yughur, i.e. to the Uyghur capital of Chīnānjkath (= Khocho), is described by Gardīzī, 92. The form *Sūlm.n*, which is also found in Biruni, is probably a mis-spelling for *Solmï* (or *Sölmi*), see Kāshghari, I, 103, and the Saka

[1] Prof. Mullie quotes the *T'ai p'ing huan yü-ki*. Prof. Haloun has also tabulated for me the chronology of Chinese capitals. Ho-nan-fu enjoyed this distinction A.D. 904–7, 909–13 and 923–37, for the most of the time jointly with K'ai-fêng-fu or with Hsi-an-fu.

[2] Note the opening paragraph of §19, which refers to travellers "on commercial or other business."

[3] Khumdān is quoted by Qudāma, 264, who largely depends on the original text of I. Khurdādhbih.

[4] King-chao-fu = Hsi-an-fu at the same period had 537,288 inhabitants, *Sung-shih*, ch. 85, p. 3 (Mullie).

transcription communicated to me by H. W. Bailey. On Kashghari's Map it is shown to the south of Qocho (=Khocho), contrary to Biruni's co-ordinates:

	Long.	Lat.
Chīnānjkath	111° 20′	42° 0′
Ṣūlm.n	113 0	43 0

according to which Ṣūlm.n lay to the N.E.E. of Khocho, apparently on the northern side of T'ien-shan.

(c) The description of a ROAD TO QITAY is of great significance for it reflects the rise of the Liao kingdom in Manchuria and Northern China. All the stages exactly correspond with the names quoted in Birūnī's *Canon*, the authority for the route being apparently the Qitay embassy to Ghaznī of A.D. 1026.

As already suggested, Biruni's co-ordinates have only a relative value, as they must have been calculated from distances. They indicate a steady south-easterly direction of the road to Qitay, though a clear easterly direction would be expected. A comparison of Biruni's and Marvazi's distances indicates a considerable divergence at the third stretch:

	Biruni Km.	Marvazi Days	Marvazi Km.
Sha-chou—Khatun-sīnī	*circa* 1610	2 months	1920
thence to Ūtkīn	925	1 month	960
thence to Ūjam	2250	1 month	960

It is clearly stated in §19 that the road to Qitāy branches off from Sājū (*Sha-chou), but in §20 the initial (?) point is called Sānjū. Bīrūnī's MS. gives something like Miyānjū (*Sānjū), but leaves no doubt as to its identity with Sājū (*Sha-chou). More complicated is the case of Kāshghari who, I, 349, says "Shanjū, a township on the way to Upper China, more correctly Shānjū." It is possible that *al-Ṣīn al-a'lā* stands here for Qitāy, but is the name, so carefully spelt out, distinct from Sājū? The assimilation of the spellings *Shanjū* and *Shānjū* may be on the responsibility of the author, who, by the way, does not mention Sājū (Sha-chou). On Kāshghari's Map Shānjū is shown as continuing the line Kāshghar-Khotan-Cherchen, but is separated from the latter by a range of mountains (K'un-lun, Altīn-tagh ?). As on the other hand this Shānjū begins a line of four towns stretching southwards, it is an indication in favour of its identity with Sha-chou. Some confusion may be accounted for by the direction of the Altīn-tagh, which near Charkhlik forms a promontory screening Cherchen from Sha-chou. Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, 1936, p. 363, dentifies Kāshghari's Shānjū with Shan-chou lying on the Hsin-ning river to the west of Lan-chou. This out-of-the-way place is ill-fitted for the position of a terminus (or even a stage) on the road to "Upper China." Kāshghari might have taken some interest in Shan-chou in connection with the

presence of the Sari-Yughurs in its neighbourhood (?), but then he must have confused Shanjū with the Sājū (*Shājū) of the Islamic geographers.

From §20 it is clear that the encampment of AL-SHĀRIYA[1] was reached by travellers one-and-a-half months before arriving at Khatun-sīnī. Nothing whatever is known about this people, unless they are the Sarī-Yughurs, who after the fall of the Uyghur kingdom in Mongolia, A.D. 840, became settled in the region of Kan-chou. A Samanid embassy seems to have visited their king Qālin b. Shakhīr about 381/941. Not until A.D. 1029 did the Yellow Yughurs succumb to the Tangut supremacy, see Bretschneider, *Med. researches*, I, 243, and *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 227, 236, 264–5. According to Marvazi, al-Shāriya (*Sarī) were called after one of their chiefs *Bāsm.l.* This name is a precious indication, for it can refer only to the Basmīl (in Chinese *Pa-si-mi*), a Turkish tribe closely associated with the Uyghurs. According to Chinese sources, the Basmīl formed the tenth division of the Uyghurs. A.D. 742 the Basmīl assisted the Uyghurs in destroying the old Turkish (Toquz-Ghuz) empire in Mongolia. Later the Uyghurs attacked their allies in their homes near Bish-balīq, but it is very likely that numerous clans of Basmīl remained in the Uyghur federation and shared the fate of its survivors when 15 aymaqs of the latter were led to Kan-chou by P'ang-t'e-le (*tegin), see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 264, 266, 272, 285. The Sari-Yughurs were Manichaeans (later, Buddhists) and as such could not have failed to be alarmed by the advance of any militant church. Their fear of Islam may refer to the rise in Chinese Turkestan of the Qara-khanid dynasty. The first of this family to be converted to Islam was Satuq-Boghra khan. He is said to have died in 344/955, but only towards the very end of the century did the Kashghar branch of the family push its conquests into the southern part of Chinese Turkestan, which tallies well with Marvazi's report, cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 234, 280.

Al-Shāriya might have been met on the road by the K'itan embassy. It is also possible that the Basmīl clan was somehow connected with Shan-chou, while the latter name became confused with Sha-chou. If the two weeks' distance (32 Km. × 14 = 448 Km.) is to be reckoned from Shan-chou, the encampment of the Basmīl must be looked for in the neighbourhood of the Yellow river, in Alashan or Ordos. Should the distance be reckoned from Sha-chou, they must be sought in the neighbourhood of the Etsina-ghol.

Maḥmūd Kāshghari refers to a QATUN-SĪNĪ "between Tangut and China," III, 240, and to Ötükän, "in the Tatar steppe near the Uyghur," I, 123. Chinese sources know three places called K'o-tun-ch'êng: (*a*) one on the Etsina-ghol (= Kāshghari, III, 240); (*b*) one in Mongolia on the Orkhon, 3000 li from the "Upper Residence" (Pelliot, *J.A.*, April, 1920, 174, places it at the confluence

[1] On another group of this name see Chap. IX, §3C.

of the Orkhon with the Kökshin-Orkhon); (*c*) and one near the northern bend of the Yellow river.[1] Prof. Mullie most kindly supplied me with an abstract of the sources. According to the *T'ang-shu* a place called Tsi-sai-kiun, "properly K'o-tun-ch'eng," existed in the eighth century at some distance to the west of Kuei-hua-chêng in the north-western part of the Urat banner. The town is still mentioned under the Liao and even under the Kin (*Ho-tung-kuan* for **K'o-tung-kuan*). This place, situated half-way between Sha-chou and the Liao capital (v.i.), in the zone very likely lying on the ambassador's way, seems to correspond to Marvazi's Khatun-sīn, if only "Khatun's tomb" = Khatun's *chêng* ("wall, walled town").

In Arabic script Ūtkīn looks very much like the Turkish Ötükän (Kāshghari: *Ūtk.n*?), but a visit to the famous Ötükän-yïsh, the residence of the Eastern Turkish qaghan, would have taken the ambassador far out of his direct road.[2] The authorities seem to agree in placing Ötükän somewhere in the Hangai (Khangay) range to the south of the upper Orkhon, see Thomsen, *Inscr. de l'Orkhon*, 1896, p. 152; Melioransky, *Zap. V. O.*, XII, p. 84; Thomsen, *ZDMG*, 78, 1924, p. 123; cf. Herrmann, *Atlas of China*, p. 40. Kāshghari, on his Map, is apparently wrong in placing his Ötükän somewhere near the source of the Irtish (?). Prof. Mullie tells me that, according to the *Liao-shih*, Ch. 41, p. 4r, the army of the town of Feng-sheng-chou, situated east of Ta-t'ung (now Chua-lu-hsien, in Hopei) was called Wu-ting-kiun, which might be compared with *Ūtikīn. I gratefully place this indication on record.[3] Biruni's co-ordinates suggest for Ūtkīn a southerly bend of 5° 50′ in comparison with Khatun-sīnī.

The name of the terminal point of the itinerary is transmitted in Marvazi as Ūjam, whereas Biruni refers indefinitely to the "residence of the Qita-khan." Prof. Mullie's opinion was particularly valuable on this point as he had explored in person the residences of the Liao, see *Les anciennes villes de l'empire des Grands Liao*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1922, p. 105. He thinks that the ambassador most probably had in mind the Upper Capital, called in Chinese Lin-huang-fu and situated on the right bank of the river Ulji-müren, in the Mongol principality of Bārin (in Mongolian *Boro-khoto*, "The Brown City"). The perimeter of Ūjam was 2 farsakhs, i.e. 11–12 Kms., while that of Boro-khoto was 7–8 Kms., but jointly with the southern town about 10 Kms.

[1] Built A.D. 749 near the Ola range, south-east of the present Wu-yüan, i.e. near the ancient T'ien-tê-chün (M. Polo: Tenduc). A fourth Ho-tung-ch'êng lay near the Kerulen, 1700 li from the "Upper Residence" (G. Haloun).

[2] Unless the three years which it took him to arrive in Ghazni are accounted for by such great detours.

[3] A grim idea would be that the ambassador intentionally embroiled the facts, cf. §21. He may have mentioned Khatun-sīnī as a more or less known term and Ūtkīn ((Ötükän) as a place close to the theatre of the recent operations of the Liao in Northern Mongolia, cf. a quotation from the *Liao-shih* (under A.D. 1012) in Marquart, *Komanen*, 194–5.

The form *Ūjam* might be shaped into something like **Lūkham* (?), as an approach to the Chinese form, but the weak point is that the ambassador must have used its native name which is not otherwise attested. Very important is the statement that it is 7 days distant from the sea. According to Prof. Mullie, the distance from Boro-khoto to Kin-hsien would be covered post haste in 7 days, but not by caravan. As the stages in our source are rather small (v.s. p. 70) this affords some difficulty in an important detail.[1] In Biruni the road between Ūtkīn and the Qitā capital bends another 4° 50′ southwards. His distance in a straight line seems very much exaggerated and would even exceed the distance between Ötügän (in Khingai) and the Liao territory.

It is also strange that Biruni's table gives "Qitā" without any accompanying term equivalent to "city, capital," while Marvazi qualifies *Ūjam* as *mamlaka*, "a kingdom" (?). The description of Ūjam suggests a "royal camp" rather than a city, and here is an important quotation from the *Liao-shih*, Ch. 34, p. 4r, and *K'i-tan-kuo-chih*, Ch. 23, p. 3r, in Prof. Mullie's translation: "Chaque fois que les K'itan font des incursions au sud (i.e. en Chine), leurs troupes ne comptent pas moins de 100,000 (hommes). Quand le chef de l'état entre dans les frontières (de Chine), les fantassins, les cavaliers et les tentes sur chariots ne suivent pas les chemins réguliers. D'est à ouest, ensemble, ils marchent en avant de la grande tente du chef.... Quand le chef des barbares sonne le cor (pour donner le signal), les troupes s'arrêtent aussitôt et entourent le *Koung-lou* (Leao-che: la tente impériale). Depuis le voisinage (de la tente) jusqu'au loin ils plient des branches d'arbres, les courbent en *koung-tze-p'ou* et ne prennent pas la precaution d'établir (une enceinte de) fossés et de palissades ou un camp de lances." *Kung-tzŭ-p'u* is explained in the same chapter of the *Liao-shih* as follows: "Quand les chevaux de l'armee des Leao (?) sont au repos, on ne fait pas de fossée de camp, (mais) on plie des branches d'arbre en (forme d') arc pour former ainsi un lieu de rassemblement. Lorsque des ambassadeurs des divers états arrivent (en territoire Leao) on place au bord de la route des arcs de branches d'arbre, qui font fonction de barrière." This is an illuminating parallel to Marvazi's text!

The paragraph on the nation living "among water and thin mud" called *S.nqū* and corresponding to Mahāchīn undoubtedly refers to the Sung state **Sung-kuo* (A.D. 960–1279).[2] No one except a Liao

[1] Personally I should prefer the Central residence which lay much nearer to the sea (under 300 Kms. as the crow flies), on the left bank of the Lokhan-pira, a southern tributary of the Shara-muren, cf. Chavannes, *Voyageurs chinois chez les Khitan*, *J.A.*, mai 1897, 377–411. The suggested restoration of *Ūjam* as **Lūkham, Lokham* would acquire more importance in comparison with *Lokhan*.

[2] Abul-Hasan Bayhaqi, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq* (A.D. 1164), Tehran 1938, p. 18, refers to *S.nqū* as the great town (!) of Mahāchīn.

ambassador could breathe so much contempt for the rival territory. The alternative name *Sh.rghūl* must be a K'itan term, very welcome in view of the meagreness of the K'itan vocabulary so far known. The variants offered by Biruni are *Sh.rghūd*, in the *Qanūn*, and *Sh.rghūr*[1] in the *Jawāhir*, 236: "it is reported that in *Sh.rghūr* there is a spring which is the personal property of its ruler the Khān. No one can approach it. The Khān sweeps (rakes ?) it every year and extracts from it much gold." Biruni also refers (*ibid.*, Annex 7) to the "small sea" (*buḥayra* ?) of Sh.rghūr lying beyond China (*fauqa al-Ṣīn*), which he takes for a branch of the Green sea, cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 179.

§§22–25. A record of an embassy from Qitā and Yughur to Sultan Maḥmūd is found in Gardīzī under the year 417/1026: "Ambassadors came from the Qitā-khan and the Yyghur-khan to Amīr Maḥmūd and brought good messages and reported the readiness (of the said kings ?) to place themselves at his service. They prayed (saying) 'we want good relations between us.' Amir Maḥmūd gave orders that they should be received honourably, but then he answered their messages saying: 'we are Muslims and you are unbelievers; it is not seemly that we give our sisters and daughters to you. If you become Muslims the matter will be considered,' and he dismissed the ambassadors honourably."[2]

Ibn al-Muhannā misses the point of Marvazi's report, when he says that the ambassadors were sent by the lords "of China and the Turks," see Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 89. Only the original of Marvazi's work enables us to appreciate the importance of the event.

Marvazi gives the date of the embassy as 418/1027, but the year of the Mouse in which the letter of the emperor of Qitāy is said to have been written corresponds to 1024, as pointed out by Barthold.[3] We have to admit then that the ambassador Q.ltunkā's westward journey took from three to four years owing perhaps to some detours

[1] For the final element compare the Mongolian plural in *-d*, *-ūd*!

[2] The text in Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 17, and Gardīzī, ed. M. Nazim, 87. The passage has been unfortunate in its interpreters, see Raverty, *Ṭabaqāt*, 905 (where the two khans are mistaken for brothers of the Qara-khanid Qadir khan); Barthold, *Turkestan*, Engl. transl., 286 (**Qitā* mis-read as *Qayā*); M. Nazim, *Sultan Mahmud*, 57 (the reading is right, but the identification of *Qitā* with *Kuchā* in Chinese Turkestan is unfortunate). Even Marquart, who closely scanned Barthold's texts, did not suggest any correction. In his lectures delivered in Istanbul in 1926 and published in German translation by Menzel in 1935, under the title *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, Barthold says, pp. 88–9: "Nach der Erzählung des Gardīzī kamen im Jahre 1026 die Gesandten von zwei türkischen Chanen zu Maḥmūd (es werden ihre Titel angeführt deren Lesung . . . nicht ganz sicher festgestellt werden kann)." On Ibn Muhannā's quotation from Marvazi Barthold remarks: "die neue Quelle gibt folglich keine neuen Nachrichten uber die Gesandtschaft der zwei Chane und bringt nur eine chronologische Unklarheit hinein."

[3] More exactly the year covers the period of 12 February, 1024, to 30 January, 1025 (S. H. Taqizadeh). The other Mouse years were 1012 and 1036. The latter is out of the question as Maḥmūd died on 30th April, 1030, and 1012 would imply too great a mistake on the part of Gardīzī and Marvazi.

or the unsettled condition of the roads to which the Yughur-khan refers. From the Yughur-khan's letter we only learn that it was written in the fifth month (**Beshinj ay* ?) without indication of the year. The reference to Maḥmūd's conquests in India is naturally too vague, for his victorious campaigns extended over a period from A.D. 1000 to 1027. By 1024, at any rate, the rajas of Gwālior and Kālinjar had submitted and Maḥmūd's empire had reached its utmost limits. Another fact may have had considerable repercussions in Central Asia: after a long series of struggles with the Qara-khanids, Maḥmud established peace with the representative of the Kāshghar branch, Qadīr khan, whom he met in person at Ṣamarqand on 29th April, 1025, M. Nazim, *o.c.*, 55. To seal this friendship Maḥmūd betrothed his daughter to Qadir's son, Yaghan-tegin. The news must have been rapidly circulated in Chinese Turkestan and may have induced the opponents (v. i.) of the Qara-khanids to seek similar guarantees from the mighty Ghaznavid. Maḥmūd's answer (v.s. Gardīzī) leaves no doubt that some overtures in this sense were made to him by the infidel ambassadors.

The Qitāy (in Chinese *K'itan*) empire, which was founded by Ye-lü Apaoki in 916, and officially proclaimed in 926, comprised Southern Manchuria[1] and Northern China up to Peking. The date of the embassy falls in the long reign of the emperor Sheng-Tsung (983–1031) whose activities in the west were very conspicuous. In 1009–10 his high commissioner temporarily subdued Kan-chou and Su-chou and about 1017 a Qitay expedition was launched against Chinese Turkestan and Semirechye.[2] The embassy to Ghaznī throws new light on the Qitay diplomacy in Central Asia. A century later (A.D. 1124), after the Qitay dynasty had been crushed by the Tunguz dynasty of Kin, an energetic scion of the Qitay, Ye-lü Ta-shi, founded a new empire in Semirechye and the neighbouring regions. To the series of events foreshadowing this issue, we must now add *Qul-tonga's mission of A.D. 1027.

The identification of the Yughur-khan whom Sheng-tsung requested to speed on Qul-tonga to Ghazni is a difficult question. There were two Uyghur principalities, the northern one in Khocho and Bish-baliq, in the eastern part of T'ien-shan, and the southern one, in the region of Kan-su, which usually went by the name of Sarï-Yughur ('Yellow Uyghurs").[3] The history of these later branches is still obscure. Both kingdoms had relations with

[1] The names of the river Liao-ho, Liao-tun, etc., are traces of the dynasty, called *Liao* in Chinese.

[2] It was repulsed by the Qara-khanid prince of Kashghar, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 279, and *Kara-Khitāy* in *E.I.* There seems to be no record of the expedition in Chinese sources (G. Haloun).

[3] See *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 226, 271. The "Fair-haired Uyghurs" in the region of Tsaidam are mentioned for the first time towards A.D. 1081–3 (Haloun). Presumably the appellation was of a much older origin. On the term *Sa-li Wey-wu-rh* (Sarī Uyghur) used in 1226, see Bretschneider, I, 263. Cf. also Chap. IX, §3 (*al-Shāriya*).

K'itans, but the latter seem to have attached more importance to the Kan-chou branch. When the founder of the dynasty pushed back the Khirkhiz from the Orkhon (A.D. 924), he invited the khan of Kan-chou to re-occupy his fathers' home,[1] but this proposal proved unacceptable. In 1009-10 the K'itan high commissioner attacked Kan-chou and subdued the khan Ye-la-li, although the Uyghurs soon recovered their rights. The position of the Yellow Uyghurs between their eastern neighbours of Tangut (Hsi-hsia) and the Muslim Qara-khanids in the west was precarious. In 1028 the Tangut occupied Kan-chou, Bretschneider, I, 243, and by 1035 had spread their domination[2] to Sha-chou (Haloun).

This outline makes it possible that the report on the embassy of 1025 had in view the khan of Kan-chou, towards whom the emperor of Qitay adopts a respectful but patronising attitude.[3] There are some other indirect arguments in favour of this hypothesis. The khans of Bishbaliq had the honourable title of *idīqut*, which they had inherited from the Basmïl, their predecessors in the region.[4] It would be strange if the khan had omitted his distinctive title in an official letter. Most of the known idiquts bore the name of Arslan, and our sources (admittedly very scanty) do not mention any such princely names as Qadïr and Chaghrï, see Bretschneider, *o.c.*, Caferoğlu, *Sözlük*, 42, 123. On the contrary, in Kan-su, the name of the khan Qālin b. al-Shakhīr, quoted by Mis'ar b. Muhalhil, seems to be **Qalïn b. Chaqïr* (a possible variation of Chaghrï). The name Chaghrï occurs also in the Khotanese texts referring to Kan-su (H. W. Bailey). Even the confusion in Bīrūnī and Marvazi of Sha-chou with Shan-chou (v.s. p. 72) might be a hint in favour of Sha-chou. The khan of this region, on the eve of the fall of his Kan-su. The khan of this region, on the eve of the fall of his kingdom, was undoubtedly anxious to secure any help from outside and could reasonably hope that, at least against the Qara-khanids, Maḥmūd might give him the necessary support.[5]

The original letters of the two khans must have been in Turkish. Says Kāshghari, I, 29: "The people of Māchīn and Chīn have a separate language. In spite of it, their natives excel in Turkish and their letters to us are written in Turkish (*bi-khaṭṭ al-turkiyya*)." As yet no specimen of royal or diplomatic correspondence in Turkish seems to be available, but the Arabic translation of the letters give some idea of the usage. Such expressions, as "upon the face of this wide earth" and the introductory formulas sound Turkish.

[1] The fact was referred to by Ye-lü Ta-shi when in 1123 he wished to secure the friendship of the khan of Kan-chou. The latter paid him homage and declared himself his vassal, Bretschneider, I, 214.

[2] Probably only their suzerainty, see above note.

[3] See the text: "we have ordered Qadir-khan."

[4] Juvayni, I, 32; Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 163, says that the title was assumed *dar īn ākhira*, but he possibly means by that "since their arrival in Khocho."

[5] As against these considerations can be quoted that in §19B (as also in Biruni's *Canon*) Khocho is called "the city of the Yughur-khan," although it is possible that this part of the itinerary goes up to an earlier source (Jayhānī).

In comparison with the Uyghur *'an salāmatinā*, the Qitay formula can hardly be *'an salāmihi*. More likely it is to be read *'an salāmati* (of so-and-so) and is meant to be completed by the name of the khan. Very probably the latter was separately inscribed at the top of the missive. The regular practice of Mongol and Timurid times was to insert in the text a "tick" as a reference to the king's name. See the decree of the īlkhān Abū-Sa'īd in Barthold, *Nadpis . . . Manuche*, 1911, p. 5, and Timur's letter to Charles VI in S. de Sacy, *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, VI, 1822, 471, cf. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *Bīst-maqāla*, Bombay, 1928, 44.

The question of the titles used in the letters is of great interest. The "lord of Qitay" only refers to the power given him by Heaven[1] over numerous kingdoms and tribes and calls the "amirs" of the neighbourhood his "nephews." The lord of the Yughurs calls himself "Exalted Il.k Yughur-khan," which may reflect the original *Ulugh Ilig* found in the Uyghur texts of Turfan in the sense of "Exalted King," see reference in Bang-Gabain, *Analitischer Index*, 1931, 21.[2] Sultan Maḥmūd is properly addressed ("Sultān") in the second letter, but in the first he is given the astonishing title of "amir of Khorāsān Maḥmūd Qarā-khān." The translator must have preserved it as a curio. "Amir of Khorasan" is quite respectful in itself, but, after all his victories, Mahmud had considerably outgrown the rank of the Samanids.[3] The addition of "Qara-khan" after the name is quite unexpected and might suggest that the Qitay emperor had somehow confused Maḥmūd with his Qara-khanid rivals.[4] However, Marvazi himself affirms (Chap. XIII, §7) that "whenever the Turks wished to honour a king they addressed him as Qara-khan"!

The presents of the Qitay emperor were such as might be expected from a Far Eastern ruler. Among the names of the textiles, *khwīdh*, *zhūnkī*, *k.nzī* and *sh.k.rdī*, only the first and the last one seem to be of Iranian origin; the two middle ones sound Chinese (*dzun-ki*, *tsung-ki* ?). The furs are of the usual "northern" kind; *yaqu* or

[1] Compare the original formula in old Turkish which is *Tängri-dä qut bulmïsh*, "he who has found majesty through the Heaven (God)."

[2] A curious use of the title is reported in *Rauḍat al-Ṣafā*: Alp Arslan while appointing Niẓām al-mulk to be the atabeg of his son Malik-shāh decreed that he should be called *Īl.k-va-Atā Khwāja*, see Khwāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā*, Tehran, 1317, p. 156.

[3] *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 19a (tr. 102): "the *mīr* of Khorasan resides at Bukhara."

[4] V. V. Grigoriev is responsible for the introduction of the term "Qara-khanids." In Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 54, "Qarā-khān" seems to be a mere slip for the well-known title Boghrā (*Boqrā*) borne by the first khan converted to Islam (*Q.rā* instead of *B.qrā*) and many of his successors. However, in the document from Yarkand (*circa* A.D. 1100), published by Barthold in the *BSOS*, 1923, III/1, p. 153, the contemporary king is called "king of the East and China, Tafghāch Bughrā Qarā-khāqān Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan, son of Sulaymān Arslān Qarā-khāqān." In the *E.I.* Barthold described the dynasty under *Ilāk-khan* (Ilig khan?). Abul-Ḥasan Bayhaqi, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, ed. Tehran, 1317, p. 69, calls the conqueror of the Samanid kingdom *īlak al-khān* (?). However, in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. the titles *khan* and *ilak* belonged to different branches of the family, see Abul-Faḍl Bayhaqi, 844, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 274–8.

yaghu is a Turkish term for "a pelisse of Siberian type with the fur outside," Radloff, *Versuch*, III, 141. The musk could be of Chinese origin, though Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*. I, 353, admits that Chinese musk is inferior to that of Tibet. The sending of messengers with arrows is a well-known Far Eastern custom. Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, 1930, 27, says that it is attested for the Tibetans at the T'ang epoch. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 383, quotes it for the Chinese dynasty of Kin (of Tunguz origin). In our source the practice is confirmed as regards the K'itans and Uyghurs.

The name of the Qitay envoy was *Q.lt.nkā*. No great importance can be attached to the vocalisation *Qalitunkā*, but the complex (**Qul-tonga*?) sounds Turkish. The Qitay emperor may have employed an Uyghur for the mission to Western Lands. The other envoy's name, *Qāshī*, is attested in Mongol times. According to Rashīd al-din, ed. Blochet, 7, one of Ögedey's sons was called Qāshī because he was born at the time when Chengiz khan conquered "the country (*vilāyat*) of Qāshī, which is now called Tangqut." The Turkish habit of giving names after countries and towns is well known (Urus, Baghdād, Dimishq).

§25. The explanation which Marvazi gives of the animal cycle of twelve years employed in Central Asia suggests that the system was little known at Ghaznī in 418/1027, and even under the Seljuks in the early part of the twelfth century A.D. Less astonishing was the need of explanations on the part of Kāshghari, I, 1076–7. Even in the fifteenth century, Sayyid Jamāl al-din Ibn Muhannā (d. 823/1425), in his Turkish and Mongolian lexicon,[1] refers to Marvazi: "Know that the Turks compute time by calling each year by the name of an animal, as will be mentioned, so that twelve years pass under (the names of) twelve animals. For example, when a child is born it is said that he was born in the year of such-and-such an animal, and when his life reaches that year again (i.e. a similarly named year) he has completed twelve years, and so forth. In the book *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, composed by Sharaf al-Zamān al-Ṭabīb al-Marvazī, who described therein the countries of China and the Turks, he gives a translation of the letters (*asāmī*?, "names"), which the Lords of China (*Ṣīn*) and the Turks wrote to Sultan Maḥmūd in 418, the date being given as the fifth month of the year of the Mouse. He also records the order of years and animals in the following way:

The year of the	Mouse	Sïchqan-yïlï
,, ,,	Ox	Sïghïr ,,
,, ,,	Leopard	Pars ,,
	or	Qaplan ,,
	or	(Ar)slan ,,
,, ,,	Hare	Tavïshghan-yïlï
,, ,,	Fish	Balïgh ,,
,, ,,	Snake	Yïlan ,,
,, ,,	Horse	At ,,
,, ,,	Sheep	Qoyïn ,,
,, ,,	Monkey	Bïchin ,,
,, ,,	Hen	Taquq ,,
,, ,,	Dog	It ,,
,, ,,	Hog	Donghuz ,,

And one often sees this (system) in the calendars of Turkish kings, and especially (in) the computation of time of this mighty Mongolian state. They date according to this system which they have taken (*nāqilīhā*) from the histories of the Uyghurs (or Oghuz?) and their ancient books."

Among the nations using the animal cycle Marvazi refers to the Khotanese, possibly even to the use in the old Khotanese (Saka) language. H. W. Bailey has found a complete list of the twelve years in Khotanese, see *BSOS*, VIII/4, 1937, pp. 923–30 (he also quotes the names in Soghdian, Krorayina Prakrit and Kuchean).

The origin of the twelve years' cycle has been discussed many times and for comparative purposes it will suffice to quote the series as given in Turkish by Kāshghari (column I), in Mongolian and Persian by Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, *passim* (columns II and III) and in Turkish, as in the *'Ālam-ārā*, and still in use in Persia (column IV):

sïchghan	qulquna	mūsh	sïchqan
ud	hüker	gāv	ud
bars	pars	yūz	bars
tavïshghan	tulay	khargūsh	tushqan
nāk	luy	azhdarhā	luy
yïlan	mogha	mār	ïlan
yund	morin	asp	yunt
qoy	qonin	gūsfand	qoy
bïjin	bichin	būzīna	pichi
taqaghu	daqiqu	murgh	takhaqu
it	noqay	sag	it
tonguz	qaqa	khūg	tonguz

The fifth year often embarrassed the translators, who used for "dragon" either Indian *nāga* or Chinese *luy* (which is the way the Turks in T'ang times pronounced the original *lung*; Chavannes, *Le cycle des douze animaux*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1900, 52). Kāshghari, I, 289, explains *nāk* as "a crocodile" (*al-timsāḥ*), and additionally, III, 116, as "a (large) snake" (*al-thu'bān*). Marvazi undoubtedly means some aquatic monster, though the form *l.bnāt al-mā'* is obviously wrong. By sacrificing the initial *l* we might read *banāt al-mā'* (*filiae aquae*). In a verse of al-Muthallim b. Riyāḥ al-Murrī, *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freitag, I, 187, II, 334, the clatter of lances in a battle is compared with "the clamour (*ṣiyāḥ*) of hungry *banāt al-mā'*.

[1] *Ḥilyat al-insān*, first edited by P. M. Melioransky, *Arab-filolog*, SPb. 1900, and later (with the author's real name) by Kilisli Rif'at, Istanbul 1338–40. The passage is complete in Melioransky, pp. 041–042, but truncated in the Turkish edition.

Tibrīzī in his commentary says that some explain this term as "aquatic birds" and some as "frogs," neither of which explanations suits the twelve year cycle. Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, I, 196, explains this term as "fishes in the sea of Rūm, resembling women and having (long) hair," which sounds like sirens. Even Ibn Muhannā was unable to understand Marvazi's form for which he substituted *samak* = *balïq*, though no "Year of the Fish" is known either. [Cf. Addenda, p. 161].

It appears then that the restoration of the term as **banāt al-mā'* is of no help and that the initial element of *l.bnāt* should be taken into account. In view of the parallels in our lists (*nāk, lūy, azhdarhā*) I would restore Marvazi's *l.bnāt al-mā'* as *thu'bān al-mā'*, "The Water Serpent," which interpretation gives a satisfactory meaning and is quite plausible from the palaeographic point of view. Cf. Arabic text, p. 9₂₁.

§§26–28 are based on the old accounts of Arab mariners (v.s. p. 63) and have many points in common with "Sulaymān," which is a collective name covering a collection of early ninth century reports. Marvazi complements Sulaymān in several instances.

§§26. The sea route to China was well known to Arab and Persian merchants from Baṣra and Sīrāf, as attested by I. Khurdādhbih's list of ports of call, pp. 61–9. A thorough analysis of his report has been given by J. Kuwabara, On *P'u Shou-kêng*, in Memoirs of the *Toyo Bunko*, No. 2, Tokyo, 1928, 1–79 (an excellent general introduction in which recent investigation is summed up) and No. 7, 1935, 1–104. Lūqin (or better, **Lū-fīn*) corresponds to Lung-Pien in Tonkin, 12 miles south-east of Hanoi, Kuwabara, 1928, 15. Khān-fū is now generally recognized as Canton, *ibid.*, 11. Muslim traders possessed a very good knowledge of the situation in this port. Sulaymān, p. 14, says that the king of China invested a Muslim with the administration of the colony of his co-religionists, a fact confirmed by Chinese sources, Kuwabara, 41. The interdiction of the export of Chinese slaves is differently formulated in §38, which suggests the existence of two separate reports.

§27 continues the description of Canton and contains more details than the other early sources. *Khutū*, "rhinoceros horn," had been mentioned above in §15. Here its Chinese name *bishān* is added, which Sulaymān, 31, takes for the name of the animal itself. Reinaud already recognized the identity of the term with Sanscrit *viṣāṇa* "horn," which in Chinese sounds *p'i-sha-na*. In a Chinese-Cham vocabulary edited by E. D. Edwards and C. O. Blagden, *BSOS*, X/1, 68, it is said that the specific term for rhinoceros horn is *basan*. Should we read in Arabic **bashān*, this form may hail from Champa (in Arabic *Ṣanf*), i.e. the present-day Annam, where there existed a Muslim colony, see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 240.

Sinologists identify *khutū* with the Chinese term *ku-tu-si*, which refers to walrus and narwhal ivory and *not* to rhinoceros-horn, see

Laufer and Pelliot in *T'oung-Pao*, 1913, 315–70, and Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 1919, 565. Whatever the use of the term in China, it is certain that Muslims apply their (Turkish ?) term *khutū* to the horn of an animal which is differently identified. Vullers, *Lexicon*, I, 650, quotes seven various definitions of the khutū ("*dentes animalis cuiusdam*" coming at the last place). For Biruni *khutū* is "a frontal bone of a bull in the country of Khirkhiz," *Der Islam*, II, 1911, 345–58; more usually, as in our text, *khutū* is taken for a synonym of *b:shān* (rhinoceros horn). In Chap. XV, §3 (on northern seas), Marvazi refers to a fish "whose tooth is used in setting knives," but does not call it *khutū*.

The title of the Governor's representative *fāsām* must be restored **fā-shām*, to suit Chinese *fan-chang*, "the foreign head-man." "In the foreign quarter in Kuang-chou reside all the people from beyond the seas. A fan-chang is appointed over them and he has charge of all public matters connected with them. He makes it his special duty to urge the foreign traders to send in tribute,"[1] Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 17. Kuwabara, 41, thinks that Sulaymān (v.s. p. 82), has in view precisely such a "foreign head-man," but the Chinese term appears only in Marvazi.

Our text is much more explicit on "the last ship of the season" than Sulaymān, 36. With regard to the monsoon Kuwabara writes, 36: "The ships from the southern seas came to China with the south-west wind from the end of the fourth moon to the sixth moon, and the outgoing ships went with the north-east wind from the end of the tenth moon to the twelfth moon, so that the half-year from May to October was the busiest time at the sea-ports." The foreigners went on their homeward voyage in winter, but the expeditions of the Arab traders usually took two years. Sulaymān, 36, confirms that the entrance duty was 30 per cent.

§28 on Chinese customs is a natural continuation of §§26 and 27 (cf. also §§37–39). The data on the poll-tax (in Chinese *ting-k'ou-shui*), old age pensions and education of orphans follow Sulaymān, 41, 47. On the delay of burials, funeral ceremonies and the conservation of corpses, see *ibid.*, 37, with some difference in details. Similar items are found in Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, I, 208, Muṭahhar, IV, 19, and *al-Fihrist*, 350.

On the property of deceased foreigners Kuwabara, 78, quotes an Imperial edict of A.D. 1114, according to which the belongings of the foreign trader "who had come to China and lived for five (!) generations . . . shall be taken charge of at the trading ships' offices, according to the laws of extinct families."

The reference to the registration of courtesans is much more developed in Abū Zayd (in Sulaymān, 69). The concluding sentence is of a general character and cannot be connected with the courtesans alone. The sense is evidently: "all these details (i.e.

[1] I.e. to open up trade, in Kuwabara's interpretation.

§§26–28) refer to "Sān-jū," the following §§29–33 giving a description of Khumdān. *Sān-jū* is an obvious slip for *Khān-fū*, as indicated in §26. The present case is entirely different from Kāshghari's confusion of Shan-jū and Sha-chou, (v.s. p. 78).

§29. *Khumdān* is a barbarian name for the T'ang capital of Hsi-an-fu, see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 229. The name of Khumdān reappears in §33, as if concluding the series. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 307–12, mentions two Muslim travellers who from Canton visited Khumdān. One of them, the rich Quraishite Ibn al-Wahhāb, travelled in A.D. 870, and much later, when he was an old man, was interrogated by Abū Zayd Sīrāfī, the editor of Sulaymān's report and the compiler of a supplement to it, pp. 77–87, cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 224. Ibn al-Wahhāb is responsible for a long and exaggerated report on the particular respect which the Emperor of China displayed for Islam, but he winds up (p. 86) with some more realistic facts on Khumdān, such as curfews, etc. It is not impossible that immediately after his return from China, when his memory was fresher, he drew up a longer memorandum (for the caliph?)[1] which became known to Ibn Khurdādhbih, the later version of whose work is usually dated *circa* A.D. 885. This report is not in the abridgment published as *BGA*, V, but Jayhānī may have incorporated it from a fuller text (v.s., p. 6). Much of the information of §§29–33, etc., is also found in Muṭahhar, *al-Fihrist* and Gardīzī. See Muṭahhar, IV, 19 (registration of children, burials deferred, culprit's confession necessary and witnesses dispensed with, a stranger cannot export his Chinese wife, priests responsible for crops, curfews, etc.); *idem*, IV, 61 (capital at Khumdān, Chinese have flattened noses, wear long sleeves, decoration of houses, land non-irrigated, etc.); *al-Fihrist*, 350 (passports for travellers, three years' mourning, wives not to be exported, looting at funerals); Gardīzī's longish paragraph was analysed above, p. 62, with the object of establishing its connection with Jayhānī, but its more remote source may be I. Kh.[2]

§29. The distance from Chīnānjkath to Khumdān is greatly exaggerated. A part of the road is described in Gardīzī, see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 229.

§30 varies only insignificantly from Gardīzī. On the inaccessibility of the Emperor Sulaymān, 40, says that he shows himself once in ten months in order to maintain his prestige. The use in Arabic of Persian terms *takht*, "a piece, a cut," and *jām*, "a cup," is curious. Gardīzī, 93, has *takhtū dībā*.

§31. "Their crops are cereals," as in Muṭahhar, IV, 21, who adds, IV, 61, that their lands are non-irrigated; Gardīzī uses the

[1] Sulaymān, 85: Ibn al-Wahhāb told the Emperor of China that he was going to return to see the king of the Arabs "who is the son of my paternal uncle."

[2] Gardīzī's report on China begins with a quotation from I. Kh. saying that every traveller to China becomes a sage (not in BGA, V, but very similar to I.Kh. other pronouncements). It is impossible to say whether the reference to I.Kh. is meant to cover the other facts of Gardīzī's account of China.

term *lalmī*, still in use in Turkestan for crops on non-irrigated lands. (*Lalmī* may be a local form of Arabic *daymī*, the alternance *d/l* being common in eastern Iranian).

§32 as in Muṭahhar and Gardizi, with insignificant additions. Cf. also §26.

§33 on Khumdān has several points in common with the *Ḥudūd*: 360 towns sending *kharāj* (§9, 3., also in Muṭahhar, IV, 61); a lake "in the region of Khumdān" (§3, 35.). Sulaymān, 33, counts 200 towns in China, while I. Kh., 69, says that "China has 300 towns, all prosperous, and 24 among them renowned." The item on the four kinds of commodities is not attested elsewhere. Sulaymān, 41, says only that the major assets of the Treasury are the poll-tax and the monopoly of salt and tea (**shā'ī*, instead of *shākh*, Russian [illegible]).

§34. Cf. I. Kh., 69: "the length of China along the sea from Armābīl (?) to the (other) end is 2 months," and *al-Fihrist*, 350: from Armāyīl to Bānswā (? + *chou*) 2 months ("3000 farsakhs" being quoted as the distance to China overland).

§35 is welcome as a parallel to a mysterious passage in the *Ḥudūd*, pp. 84, 228. The two lists are identical, and even though the names are mutilated in both sources, we are now in possession of two variants for each name.

	Ḥ.-'Ā.	Marvazī	
1.	ايرش	ابرمر	
2.	خُورش كورش	حوريىر	
		تولمان	
3.	فراجكلى	حراحكلى	
4.	ثاي	ماىى (ماثى؟)	
5.	خسانى	حساقى	
6.	تنكوي	سكوى	
7.	بولوغنى	موبوعسى	
8.	قورى	مورى	
9.	انفس	المانساس	: Ya'qūbī
		الاندلس	: Fihrist

Here are some general considerations on the two lists:

(*a*) In view of the date of the *Ḥudūd* (A.D. 982), this enumeration has nothing to do with the report of the Qitay embassy (§§18–25).

(*b*) The two lists, each of nine names, are identical, but between 2. and 3. Marvazi inserts *Tūlmān*, instead of which the *Ḥudūd* has *Anf.s.*.

(*c*) The original source apparently gave a much fuller explanation of the nine names, but each of the two epitomists selected some special details and obscured them by his personal interpretation.

(*d*) According to the *Ḥudūd* (§9, 2.), "besides Wāq-Wāq, China has nine large regions (*nāḥiyat*) on the coast of the Eastern sea,

namely, Ir.sh, Khūr.sh, etc.," which, in spite of the differences of their populations in religion, appearance and customs, are governed on behalf of the Faghfūr-i Chīn. From the description of the rivers, §6, 2.–3., it appears that *Ir.sh* is located south of the Yangtze, *Khūr.sh* (or *Kūr.sh*?) between the Yangtze and the Yellow river and *F.rāj.klī*, north of the Yellow river. It is conceivable, of course, that there are some misunderstandings about the course of the two rivers.[1] Another detail is that the wild tribe Fūrī (§14, 1.), apparently identical with Qūrī (No. 8 in the list), is located to the east of the Khirkhiz, which fact is confirmed by Gardīzī. On Qūrī see Chap. IX, §5 *ter*. As the older Muslim tradition considered the Khirkhiz one of the north-easternmost nations, stretching down to China and the Eastern Ocean, see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §9 (beginning), this view may account for the disposition of the nine nations along the coast.

(*e*) Marvazi, for his part, refers the nine names not to "regions," but to various races (*ajnās*), which he locates, with considerable insistence, "to the left of China," "in a north-easterly direction," "between China and Khirkhiz." In fact the last name in Marvazi (*Qūrī) brings us again to the east of the Khirkhiz. No reference is made to the sea, but the nations seems to be disposed in a vast north-easterly sweep.

(*f*) The lists have no parallel in contemporary Islamic literature. The mutilated names and the embarrassed geographical indications of the *Ḥudūd* and Marvazi suggest that we have to do with some remote and little known tract.

I would tentatively compare the name No. 3 with the name *Qarā-Jāng*, which in Mongol times was applied to a region of Yün-nan.[2] Says Rashīd al-din, ed. Berezin, XV, 23: "The Chinese (*Khitā'iyān*) call Qarā-jāng **Dāy-Kīw* (var. *Rāy-līv*, *Rāy-bnū*), which means "the Great Province." This dominion has a (great) extent and at present obeys the Qā'ān. The complexion of some of the inhabitants is white, similar to that of the Chinese, but some others are black, also similarly to the Chinese. In the language of India and Kashmir, this province is called *K.nd.r* (var. *K.ndū*, *Q.ndū*)," cf. *ibid.*, 21, and Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 376, 395, 450. It is quite probable that the name *Qarā-Jāng*, "Black Chang," was in existence long before the Mongols, the word "black" being identical in Turkish (*qara*) and Mongolian (*khara*). The long *ā* in Jāng is only the usual Persian *scriptio plena*, and in an Arabic source might have been omitted. Finally, with a Turkish ending *-lī*[3] Marvazi's name might be restored as *Qarā-Jāng-lī (?).

Marco Polo describes Carajan in his chapters 48 and 49, see Yule-Cordier, third ed., 1921, pp. 64–84, and further, after having spoken of the country of "Gold-Teeth" (v. i., India, §56), of Burma

[1] In the *Ḥudūd*, the Yellow River is taken for the continuation of the Tarim.
[2] See Arabic text, p. 52, line 1.
[3] *-lu* and even *-luq* would be better in an ancient text! Cf. *Mānb.k-lū* in Gardīzī.

and Bengal, he turns back eastwards and speaks of Cangigu, Amin, Toloman (or Coloman, Chapter 58) and Cuiju (Chapter 59, cf. Rashid al-din, ed. Blochet, 451: *Kafche-kūh* = Kwei-chou). Deveria, *La frontière sino-annamite*, 1886, 114–5, has identified Tholoman with *T'u-la-man*, "the T'u-la barbarians" referred to in the *Yüan-shih-lei-pien*. The T'u-lao, whom the Chinese also call *Shan-tzŭ*, "Mountaineers" still occupy the southern highlands of Yün-nan. In the *Histoire particulière du Nan-Tchao*, translated by C. Sainson, 1904, 188, the T'u-lao are said to have formerly lived more to the east on the frontier of Szechuan, Kweichou and Kwangsi. Deveria's identification has been adopted in Yule-Cordier, II, 124. **Tūlmān*, or **Tūlamān* of Marvazi, coming as it does before **Qarā-Jāng* (Yün-nan) would be an extremely close parallel to Toloman!

Marvazi's mention of "white shells" being used by the nine nations, or by some of them (Qūrī ?) is astonishing. The cowries (*wad'*) are usually associated with India or the southern seas, cf. Sulaymān, 6, 28 = Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 385, Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, 68, Dimishqī, 208, Hobson-Jobson, 1903, p. 269. Curiously enough, M. Polo lays stress on the use of cowries in Carajan and Toloman, in spite of the latter's great wealth in gold, *ibid.*, II, 66, 76, 123.[1]

The other names of the group are still inexplicable. As the variant of *Ir.sh* indicates, the name might have sounded *Irm.r* or *Ayrm.n*, etc. The same may apply to No. 2. Numerous names of Barbarian tribes, especially in Yün-nan end in Chinese in *-man*. The acquaintance of Muslims with Yün-nan may be postulated from their knowledge of the kingdoms of Ṭirsūl, Mū-sa and Mānk, v. i., *India*, §52. According to M. Polo there were in Yün-nan not only Saracens and Idolators, but even a few Nestorian Christians. The story of the river separating Tibet from China, v. i, §42, points to the upper reach of the Yangtze on the northern border of Yün-nan. But were we to take Yün-nan for the beginning of our list we should have to postulate that the list enumerates the marches of China first in the extreme south-west, and then, with a formidable leap, in the extreme north-east!

For it is a fact that the list ends in the neighbourhood of the Khirkhiz, the only sure name being *Qūrī*. I now think that to the latter may be added the mysterious *Anf.s* of the *Ḥudūd*. In a confused passage of the *Fihrist*, 350, some nameless traveller states that he was told by some inhabitants of *And.l.s* that a steppe separated their country from China (*Ṣīn*): "China is called the Great Country (*arḍ al-kabīra*), and *al-And.l.s* is to the north of it, and therefore they are near to where the sun rises." Says Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, I, 208 (before A.D. 891): "on land China has three borders. The first of them is with the Turks and Toghuzghuz: with them wars were perpetual, until peace had been made and ties of marriage

[1] M. Polo calls cowries "pourcelainne" ("pig-shells"). Thence the name "porcelain" which from these shells was transferred to China-ware, Yule, *ibid.*, II, 74.

established. The second is with Tibet: between China and Tibet is a mountain with a military post (*masalih*) from which (the Chinese) keep watch on Tibet, while the Tibetan military post keeps watch on China, and the two posts are on the frontier of the two countries. The third border is with a people called *al-Mānsās*, who possess a separate kingdom and live in a large country which stretches for some years (*'iddat sinīn*) in every direction. No one knows what is beyond it. They are neighbours (*yuqāribūna*) of the Chinese. . . . ." In Arabic script[1] the identity of *al-Mānsās*, *al-And.l.s* and (without *al-*) *Anf.s* seems quite probable, as it is likewise clear that the name is the earliest reference in Muslim literature to the inhabitants of Manchuria. I cannot explain the name, but possibly the final *s* of *Mānsās* is a plural suffix (cf. Mong. *-s* and Manchurian *-sa*, *Manju-sa*, "the Manchus").[2]

Giving rein to our imagination we might suggest for No. 4: *Qāy* or even *Qitāy* (Chap. IX, §3), and for No. 5, either *Khitāy* = *Qitāy*, or *Khasān* (< Khaskhan, in Chinese *Ho-su-kuan*), an ancient Manchurian tribe, for whose existence Prof. Haloun is my surety.[3]

§36, coming as it does after §35, confirms the impression that with these items we have reached the farthest limits to the East. Gardīzī speaks of the Fūrī after the Khirkhīz, and of the red-haired people after China.

The red-haired people possibly go back to the Alexander legend; cf. Qor'ān, XVIII, 89, in which Alexander finds a people to whom God "has given nothing to protect themselves against the intense heat of the Sun."

§§37–41 continue §§26–8 and go up to *circa* A.D. 850.

§37. The same item on the necessity of confession on the part of the culprit is to be found in Muṭahhar, IV, 20, who adds that only written documents can prove a debt. As Sulaymān, 39, confirms that "no notice is taken of what the parties say; the arguments must be presented in writing," it seems that the whole report was drawn up before A.D. 850.

§38. The item is in Sulaymān, 42–3, who omits the curious detail on Chinese maidservants, but the latter is in Muṭahhar, IV, 19 (immediately after the point on written documents) and in *al-Fihrist*, 350. This popular version differs in style from the matter-of-fact statement in §26, which is apparently derived from another traveller. But §38 is more true to the tenor of the Imperial edict of A.D. 628: "Any foreign envoy merchant may marry a Chinese woman. He shall not, however, take her away to his own country," Kuwabara, 57.

[1] See Arabic text, p. 52, l. 2.

[2] Still obscure is the term *Mānisā* which the *Ḥudūd* applies roughly to the chains of mountains separating Tibet from China. Is this terminology due to some misunderstanding? The mis-spelling *Anfs* may have been separated from the original *Mānsā* and the latter name located where the list began?

[3] The lake Khasan, near which the Russians and Japanese came to a clash in 1938, may reflect the same name.

§39 (see also §12) adds slightly to Gardīzī. Cf. also Muṭahhar, IV, 61.

§40 as in Gardīzī.

§41. *Si-la* is the Silla kingdom (in Chinese: *Sin-lo*), which comprised the central and eastern part of Corea (A.D. 755–935). The passage is borrowed (directly or indirectly) from I. Khurdādhbih, 70 and 170, cf. I. Rusta, 82, Muṭahhar, IV, 661 (who quotes *Kitāb al-Masālik*), and *al-Fihrist*, 350.

§42. The chapter on Tibet is based on the same source as §11 of the *Ḥudūd* (commentary, *ibid.*, 254–63). One should think that the source of the chapter is Jayhānī but v. i., p. 90, note 1.

Arā must be restored as **Akhā* (or *Ajā* ?) to bring it into harmony with the following *Akhā-yul* (*yul*, "a country" in Tibetan), on which see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §11, 7.

The item on the "Gate of the two Tibets" (*bāb al-Tubbatayn*)[1] corresponds to Dar-i Tubbat of the *Ḥudūd*, §26, 12., but contains a precious indication on its position between the mountain Shiwa and the river Kh.rnāb. The latter is the Upper Oxus (Panj), see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §6, 7. and p. 208. *Sheva* is the plateau with a mountain lake in the easternmost part of Badakhshān, see Burhān al-dīn Kūshkaki, *Rahnumā-yi Badakhshān*, Russian transl., pp. 197–200 (under Darvāz). Shēva is an additional link to the road between Khuttal (in the present day Tajikistan) and Kashmir, which I have tried to trace in *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 363–5.[2] After the crossing of the Oxus, see Ya'qūbī, *Geography*, 396, I. Kh., 178, the road must have followed the river of Rāgh before penetrating into Sheva. Thence it ran southwards down to the western side of the pass of Zardīw, where we can place the "Arab" Gate (*Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §24, 25.). The "Tibetan" Gate must have stood further east, on the road to Ishkashīm. Idrisi, tr. Joubert, I, 493, refers to a gate at *B.thīnj* (?) depending on Tibet.

The record of a Tibetan toll-house to the south-west of the Pamir is curious chronologically. It may be a reminiscence of the earlier period of Muslim domination in Central Asia (round about A.D. 715) when Chinese annals several times refer to Arab and Tibetan collaboration in the Hindukush-T'ien-shan region. Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, in *B.S.O.S.*, 11/4, pp. 614-6. On the other hand, the *Ḥ.-'Ā.* definitely modernises the situation while it assigns the construction of the Arab Gate to Ma'mūn (possibly towards A.D. 811) adding that the toll at the "Gate of Tibet" was levied by the Muslims living there (without a reference to Tibetans).

Rānk-r.nk correspond to *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §11, 1., the second part of the

[1] Perhaps the "Inner" and the "Outer" Tibet? Biruni places Twsm.t in the latter. It is possible that, instead of *Tubbatayn*, one should read **Tubbatiyīn* "of the Tibetans."

[2] On the authority of Jayhānī, Marvazi refers to Khottal, Shikinān and Vakhān in the paragraph of yaks, see Arabic text, p. 51, line 10.

name standing apparently for Tibetan *rong*, "a cultivated valley." Strangely enough, Biruni, *Jawāhir*, 236–42, does not speak of Tibet in his enumeration of gold mines. On the other hand, Mustaufi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, GMS, 201, quotes the story of nuggets which are found "in Rānk, in the country of Turkistān," on the authority of the *Ṣuwar al-aqālīm*.[1]

Separately from the legend of gold nuggets in Tibet, Marvazi speaks of gold in the paragraph on ants (f. 210a), see Arabic text, p. 51, l. 14), in which he states that at the farthest limit of India there is a land called *Zamīn-i zar* (in Persian!), where gold grows like grass.[2] Merchants can penetrate into it only at night for fear of the ants which are the size of a dog and can overtake the best horses if they are wounded or are moving slowly. Maqdisi, IV, 93 (tr., IV, 88) quotes the same legend (<Jayhānī), while he places the country where gold grows like plants somewhere "towards the sun-rise." Cf. also Ibn Iyās in Ferrand, *Textes*, 476. Ferrand is wrong in trying to substitute *namir*, "a panther," for *naml*, "an ant." Legends connecting ants with gold are too well known, see Herodotus, III, 102–5, and Mahabharata, II, 1860: "The kings of the North-West [brought to Yudhiṣṭhira] gold measured by droṇas which had been dug up by ants (*pipīlika*) and was called *pipīlika*" (L. D. Barnett). On Mongolian and Tibetan sources see Laufer, *Die Sage von den goldgrabenden Ameisen*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1908, 429–52, and A. N. Francke, *Two Ant stories from the territory of the ancient kingdom of Western Tibet*, in *Asia Major*, II, 1924, 67–75.

Instead of *Zāb*, *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §11, 3., has *N.zvān*. Marvazi gives some new details. *Zāb* is "above," i.e. beyond Rānk-r.nk; its inhabitants resemble Turks; it has a river forming a frontier between Tibet and China. The last fact may be compared with *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §6, 2., where it is said that the river Kīsau (Kin-sha-chan ?) "rises from the east of the mountain Mānisā (separating Tibet from India, and then from China), and reaches a place situated in the centre of Tibet (or "in the middle of the Tibetan frontier" ?). It flows on along that mountain, until it comes opposite the Tibeto-Indian frontier. Then it cuts through many mountains," and finally becomes the Ghiyān (Yangtze). In §9 it is added that the Chinese embark on the Ghiyān to visit Tibet for trade. These hints would suggest for "Zāb" a situation on the upper course of the Yangtze, contrary to the *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, which describes "N.zvān" (*T.zdān*, etc., perhaps Tsaidam ?) as lying at the north-eastern corner of Tibet (see my sketch map, *ibid.*, 196).

A reference to the river separating China from Tibet is also found

[1] Of Abū Zayd Balkhī? The latter's work is known to us only in the version of Iṣṭakhri, *BGA*, I, which does not contain the passage on *Rānk*. In BGA, I, Iṣṭakhri's work bears the title of *Masālik al-mamālik*, but on its last page, 348, it is called *Kitāb al-ashkāl*. Biruni, *Jawāhir*, 204, 216, 246, several times refers to the *Ashkāl al-aqālīm* (of Balkhī?).

[2] It is possible that the author has in view Assam, cf. Chap. xii, §52.

in the *Fihrist*, 351, where the bridge spanning it is likewise described.[1] It was made of *'aqab*, which the editor interprets as "boats." However, *'aqab* in this meaning appears to be a strictly local Egyptian term, Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 146. As the text insists on the dreadfulness of the crossing by the bridge, which was two cubits wide, we must admit some other meaning of *'qb*. As the usual meaning of *'aqab* is "sinews or tendons of which strings of bows, etc., are made," Lane, p. 2100, the report may hint at this tough material used in the construction of the bridge.[2]

These details have a certain importance as suggesting that Muslims possessed some knowledge of the Sino-Tibetan borderland (possibly in the region of Szechuan), from whence they could have advanced even into Yün-nan, v.s. §35.

§43. The description of the musk-deer is repeated in the chapter of the gazelles (*al-ẓibā*) (ff. 84b–85a) in which Marvazi quotes a certain *al-Ḥ.skī* (?), who in his turn depended on "maritime merchants" (*tujjār al-baḥr*), v.s. §14. In fact, the story is very close to that of Abū-Zayd Sīrāfī (in Sulaymān, 111–2), who undoubtedly used the maritime lore of the Persian Gulf. A similar passage of the *Murūj*, I, 353–6, is directly derived from Abū Zayd, whom Mas'ūdī met in A.D. 915. Very detailed information on musk was contained in a work of Ya'qūbī, now lost. The work was quoted in the *Jayb al-'arūs* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī al-Muqaddasī (d. 380/990), whose grandfather was Ya'qūbī's companion. Some of these quotations have survived in Nuwayrī's Encyclopedia, cf. *BGA*, VII, 364–70. Ya'qūbī says, *ibid.*, 364, that the best musk comes from "a place called Dhūsm.t, situated at 2 months' distance from (the capital of ?) Tibet." This place is without doubt identical with Tūsmat, which the *Ḥudūd* quotes under Tibet (§11, 9.). The name does not occur in Marvazi, but his chapter on the bovine species (f. 76a) contains the following important passage: "Jayhānī, in the book of *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*, says that a traveller from Sha-chou (*Ṣā-jū*) to China (*Ṣīn*) sees on his right a mountain on which live the musk-deer and the oxen from whose tails whisks ("chawry") and tops of banners are made. It seems that at this place they are the best (although ?) these oxen (i.e. yaks) are numerous in the region extending eastwards from Khuttal, in the direction of Shiknān and Vakhkhān. (The above-mentioned mountain) is at a distance of two months and a half from Kāshghar. It lies at the point where the roads branch off: to

[1] This bridge must be different from the suspension bridge between two mountains on the road from Khotan to Tibet, on this side of the "mountain with poisonous air," as described by Jayhānī, from whom it passed into Biruni, *Chronology*, 271, and Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, 88; cf. also Muṭahhar, IV, 92, Z. Qazwīnī, I, 160.

[2] The system would be different from that of a Tibetan rope-bridge graphically described in H. R. Davies, *Yün-nan*, 1909, 259–60; the traveller is fastened to a gliding piece of wood and "flies across the river at the speed of an express train." More suitable would be the type represented in Yule-Cordier, II, 80, only without railings.

Qitay—in an easterly direction, and to China—with a deflection to the right, namely, southwards. (The mountain) lies approximately opposite Tibet." According to the description, the mountain would roughly correspond to Nan-shan. I think there is considerable likelihood that the region referred to in this quotation from Jayhānī is the famous Tūsmat. In the commentary on the *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, p. 259, I had to locate Tūsmat near Khotan, while stressing a discrepancy between this location and Biruni's co-ordinates (v.s. p. 67). The latter undoubtedly points to the north-eastern border of Tibet. The travellers had in view not only Nan-shan but also the *terra incognita* behind it. Following Biruni the distance from Kan-chou to Twsm.t (almost due west) was 327 miles (526 Km.), which would take us to the region of Tsaidam. On the other hand, the name *Twsmat* reminds one of Tibetan *'Mdo-'smat*, "The Lower Amdo." Amdo is the plateau extending to the south of Kuku-nor.[1] Its distance from Kan-chou is considerably under 526 Km., and this increases the impression that the original report vaguely referred to the highlands forming the north-eastern corner of Tibet.

CHAPTER IX
THE TURKS

Under the heading of "the Turks" Muslim geographers include also the Finno-Ugrian and Slavonic peoples of Eastern Europe. Several items which Marvazi, on his own initiative, inserted in Chapter XV have been reincorporated in their appropriate places in Chapter IX. The latter consists of two distinct parts:

A. A general description of the tribes:
  - §§1–3: Introductory, with an account of a great migration of tribes (Qāy, Qūn, Shārī, etc.).
  - §§4–10: Eastern Turks: Khirkhiz, Kharlukh, Kīmāk and their neighbours, Pechenegs.
  - §§11–16: Peoples of Eastern Europe: Khazar, B.rdās, Bulghār, the northerners, Majgharī, Slavs, Rūs.

B. Anthropological remarks on the influence of the climate on the northern peoples.
  - §§17–20: Theories of Hippocrates and Galen about the Turks (read: *Scythians*) and Amazons.

[1] It stretches along the upper Hoang-Ho (to the south of Kuku-nor, down to the limits of Kan-su and Szechuan). In Amdo lie the famous monasteries of Gumbum and Labrang. Musk-deer in herds are still found in Amdo, but wild yaks have been driven out by the nomads, see P. K. Kozlov, *Mongolei, Amdo, etc.*, German translation 1925, pp. 171 and 215. According to W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the Lamas*, 1891, pp. 73–5, the term Amdo applies to the country "within the Kan-su border inhabited by Tibetans." The latter locally call themselves Amdo-wa, the inhabitants of the more fertile valleys being called Rong-wa.

In the background of the Introduction is the Ghuz (Arab. *Ghuzz*) tribe to which the Seljuk dynasty belonged. A part of it (§2) is but a rearrangement of traditional data, but §3 refers to facts which are not found in any previous records.

The middle part of the Chapter (§§4–16) runs more or less parallel with a number of texts already known and supposed to be connected with Jayhānī, but Marvazi's text contains some curious additions, which undoubtedly belong to the original source, for they fit exactly into the system. Thus he described the neighbours of the Kīmāk (§§8 *bis*, 9), who are only vaguely referred to in the *Ḥudūd*, and beyond the Īsū and Yūra, extends the description down to the northern sea (§§12 *ter* and *quater*). The paragraph on the Rūs (§15) has a curious epilogue on their conversion to Islam.

As already stated, the basic source must be Jayhani, but in the latter's text too one must discriminate between the facts borrowed from earlier authors (I. Khurdādhbih, etc.), and the material collected directly under the author's instructions. Some hesitation in the nomenclature, which reflects the difference between the older (pre-Jayhānian) sources, is noticeable in Marvazi. In §12 the *Burdās* (Iṣṭakhri < Balkhi: *Burṭās*) are said to raid the *Bulkār*, but in §12 *bis* the latter nation is called *Bulghār*. The earlier "Bulkār–Burdās" report may have been incorporated in I. Khurdādhbih,[1] though the problem of its other contents requires a special study. To it probably belonged the data on the Slavs, Rūs and western Turks, but it is difficult to say how much ground it covered in the east.[2]

On the whole, the points which Marvazi has in common with I. Rusta and Bakri are §§11, 12 (similarly: *Burdās*), 13 (partly), 14 (partly), 15 (partly). The additional points in which Marvazi agrees with the *Ḥudūd* and Gardīzī are §§4, 5 *ter*, 6, 7, 8 (partly), 10, 12 *bis* (partly), 13. The points recorded only in Marvazi (and partly copied in 'Aufī) are §§1, 2 (a rearrangement of former sources), 3 (the famous passage on the migration of tribes), 5, 5 *bis*, 8, 8 *bis*, 9, 12 *ter* and *quater* (some details not in 'Aufi), 15 (on the conversion of the Rūs to Islam). §§17–20 are of an entirely different origin based as they are on ancient Greek medical texts slightly retouched by the author.

§1. This paragraph is literally translated in 'Aufi, see Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, p. 40, where the original *afkhādh*, "sub-tribes," has been faultily transmitted.

§2. 'Aufi (*ibid.*, lines 4–9) abridges and modernises our text which itself represents an attempt to rearrange the traditional facts to bring them more up to date. The composite character of the paragraph is apparent from the simultaneous use of the terms Toghuzghuz and Turkman.

[1] As partly suggested by Barthold, *Zap.*, XXI, pp. xli–iii.

[2] I. Rusta omits the eastern Turks but the *Ḥudūd*, Gardīzī and Marvazi describe them.

The Toghuzghuz Turks (in Chinese *T'u-küeh*) on the Orkhon had ceased to exist as a political power A.D. 745; their western branch, continued by the Türgish clans, gave way to the Qarluq about A.D. 776. The Uyghurs ruled on the Orkhon from 745 down to 840, when their federation was dissolved by the Qirghiz and Chinese, a part of it only surviving in Kan-su and Eastern T'ien-shan. The spelling *Uy-ghur for *Uyghur* (see Arabic text, p. 18) is curious as separating the final element, which was perhaps considered as a link between the three ancient names mentioned in §2. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, *Trudī Vost. Otd.*, VII, 159, also spells *Ūy-ghūr*. The third name, *Üch-ghur or *Üch-ghuz is a puzzle unless the name refers to the *Üchūq* (*Üch-oq?) division which formed the left wing of the Oghuz (Ghuz) federation, see Rashīd al-dīn, *ibid.*, 35.[1] Whether the Uyghur were originally a part of the Turk (Ghuz) tribe is still very doubtful, see *Ḥudūd*, 263–8, but in later times (fourteenth century) they were considered as "having always been together with the Oghuz," Rashīd al-dīn, *ibid.*, p. 22.

The title Toghuz-khaqan (or rather, Toghuzghuz-khaqan) properly belonged to the Turkish (T'u-küeh) rulers, but might have been traditionally applied to their successors on the Orkhon and elsewhere. In Marvazi's time it was a sheer anachronism. The text has mainly in view the Ghuz from whom the Seljuk dynasty has sprung up. The description of the Turkish boundary points to the time of earlier Sāmānids. The word *shākirī* seems to be of Soghdian origin, see Vladimirtsov, *Mongolica I*, in *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, I, 1925, p. 327. In Turkish and Mongolian *chaqar* (>*tsaχar*) applies to "a court-yard, a fortified camp," and with a further extension of the meaning, to the persons grouped round a court, a monastery. In Central Asia, the form *chākar/chākir* (Hsüan-Tsang: *Chê-kieh*) was used to designate the "life-guards" of the local rulers, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 180. The three cups of wine are what is called *thalātha-yi ghassāla* (Ḥafiẓ). Niẓām al-mulk in his *Siyāsat-nāma*, 190, refers to *si piyāla-yi sharāb* at an entertainment of Turkish amirs of the Samanid court. Cf. also Chap. XII, §4.

The term *Türkmān* is first recorded towards the end of the tenth century A.D.[2] It does not occur in Iṣṭakhri (<Balkhi) or the *Ḥudūd*. For practical purposes *Türkmān* is a later synonym of *Ghuz*. The clear distinction which Marvazi draws in applying it only to the Muslim Ghuz is curious; in fact, the spread of the term *Türkmān* coincides with the Islamization of the Ghuz, *v.i.* p. 103. In spite of the lack of positive proofs, we may imagine that the Seljuks favoured a special denomination for their subjects, such as would distinguish them both from the Ghuz hordes which raided

[1] Already Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 54 (under the year 536/1141), mentions the two divisions of the Ghuz *Aj.q* and *B.r.q* (**B.z.q*), i.e. **Uchuq* and **Bozuq*.

[2] First reference in Muqaddasi, *BGA*, III, 274, who in one breath mentions the Ghuz in the neighbourhood of Saurān and Sh.gh.ljān and the "Turkmans who have accepted Islam" in the neighbourhood of B.rūkat and B.lāj.

Persia as forerunners of the Seljuks, and from the tribes opposed to the Seljuks, such as, at a later date, held Sultan Sanjar prisoner (from A.D. 1153 down to the end of 1156).

On the Turkish and heathen Ghuz see also §3, which refers to a movement of the Türkmän–Ghuz–Pechenegs, but with a significant difference. In §2 the Ghuz, under the pressure of the Türkmäns, leave Khwārazm (!) and migrate to the territory of the Pechenegs, and the success of the Türkmäns is explained by their Islam. §3 has no religious background and the (Muslim!) Türkmäns seem to succumb to the pressure of other tribes. Constantine Porphyrogenitus records the first attack of the Ghuz and Khazars on the Pechenegs, *circa* A.D. 893, and attributes to it the seizure of the Magyar territory by the Pechenegs. Some traces of this migration of the Pechenegs are found in Iṣṭakhri (*circa* A.D. 930), p. 10, and the *Ḥudūd* (A.D. 982). The latter (<Jayhānī) speaks distinctly of the "Turkish Pechenegs" in their former seats (§20) and the "Khazarian Pechenegs" in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, see my commentary, *ibid.*, 312–5, 443–4. In §2 Marvazi echoes the same tradition though he modernizes it by the use of the later term *Türkmän*. The tradition of §3 seems to be entirely different.

§3. The contents of this important record had first become known through 'Aufī's Persian translation brought to light by Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 99, and re-edited by Marquart, *Komanen*, 40_{9-14}, with an amazingly elaborate commentary. Barthold and Pelliot have discussed Marquart's theories in their reviews of his work, cf. also *Ḥudūd*, 284, 317, 444 and *passim*. Marvazi's original adds a few important details to which I referred in my article, *Une nouvelle source musulmane sur l'Asie Centrale au XI^e siècle* (1937). There is much that is still dark in this passage but a closer study of it enables me to make new suggestions on several points.

A. The QĀY. The migration was begun by the Qūn, but its easternmost link seems to have been the Qāy.

According to Marvazi, the Qūn left their territory because (*a*) they were afraid of the ruler of Qitāy and (*b*) they were cramped for grazing grounds.[1] The obvious explanation is that the expansion of the Qitāy federation under the Liao dynasty caused a redistribution of pastures and that the Qūn had to leave their headquarters (*marākiz*) and move westwards. The Qūn were ousted from "*these* pasture lands (*marā'ī*)" by a stronger tribe called Qāy. The phrase is clumsy but suggests that the Qāy attacked *not* the original homes of the Qūn but the new pasture lands which the Qūn were using. The Qāy are said to have "followed" (or "pursued") the Qūn and the verb *ittaba'a* also indicates that the Qūn were already on the

[1] Cf. *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, 92, on the petition which the Turcomans addressed to Sultan Maḥmūd asking him to allow them to cross the Oxus, because of the insufficiency of their pastures.

move.[1] In Arabic script the names Qitāy and Qāy can be easily confused, but the separate entity of the Qāy is attested in other sources as well.

The oldest record of this tribe[2] is in Biruni's *Tafhīm* (written in 420/1029), ed. Wright, 145: "the Sixth Clime begins from the territory of the Eastern Turks, such as the Qāy, Qūn, Khirkhīz, Kīmak and Toghuzghuz," etc., cf. *Ḥudūd*, 284. Incidentally this enumeration suggests that the Qāy were considered as the easternmost tribe in the list. In *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, compiled shortly after 421/1030, no mention is found of the *Qāy* and *Qūn*, while (the capital of ?) *Qitā* figures as the easternmost point of the Second Clime, beyond Ūtkīn (v.s. p. 69). This curious omission may be due to the technical impossibility of fixing astronomically the position of nomad tribes.

In Kashghari's *Dīwān*, I, 28, the Qāy appear in the series of tribes stretching from the Byzantine Empire in a west-to-east direction: Pecheneg—Qipchaq—Oghuz—Yamāk (Kīmāk)—Bashghurt—Basmïl—Qāy—Yabāqū—Tatār—Qirqiz. The latter are said to live in the neighbourhood of al-Ṣīn, i.e. of Khitāy, for the China proper of the Sung is called by the author "Tavghāch, which is Māṣīn (*Mahāchīn)." Another series of tribes "in the middle (zone) between south and north (*sic*)" is as follows: Chigil—Tukhs—Yaghmā—Ighrāq—Charuq—Jumul—Uyghur—Tangut—Khitāy, "which is al-Ṣīn." On the Map accompanying Kāshghari's text,[3] Qāy is shown in the space between the Irtish and Obi: beyond the Irtish and to the north (!) of the mountains (Altai ?) is inscribed *Ūtk.n*; to the north-east of the latter and on the left bank of the Yamur (Obi) is shown "the habitat of the Jumul" and downstream from it "the habitat of the Qāy." This position agrees with the place of the Qāy in the above-mentioned enumeration according to which the tribe lived considerably to the west of the Qirqiz. On the other hand, Qāy appears immediately north of *Ūtk.n*. If this name stands for the well-known Ötükān in the Selenga basin, the position of the Qay should be moved considerably eastward to the neighbourhood of Baikal (?). However, Kāshghari's *Ūtk.n* may echo the *Ūtkīn* of Biruni and Marvazi, on which see Chap. IX, §20C. In this case no great importance should be attached to Kāshghari's location of a little-known place. All we can say is that in the two series of tribes the Qāy and the equally vague Jumul are taken for neighbours. Kāshghari, III, 118, considers the Qay as a Turkish tribe, and though, I, 30, he mentions them among the peoples having their own *lugha* ("language, or

[1] In 'Aufī's translation, the Qāy drive the Qūn away from their own pastures, i.e. from the neighbourhood of the Qāy pastures (*az marā'ī-yi khud dūr kardand*)?

[2] The name *Thāy* of the *Ḥudūd*, which I tentatively compared with *Qāy*, *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 229, is still uncertain. The three dots of the first character admit of an alternative restoration as **Qitāy*, v.s. Chap. VIII, §35.

[3] The Map may have been drawn by the author himself, or based on his indications, cf. A. Herrmann, *Die älteste türkische Weltkarte*, in *Imago mundi*, 1935, p. 27, but it suggests that Kashghari's knowledge of Farther Asia was hazy, v.s. Chap. IX, §16.

dialect"), he admits that they speak good Turkish.[1] Finally, III, 58, a Turkish verse is quoted whose author accuses his enemy of having stolen his Qāy slave.

Next, in chronological order comes Marvazi's paragraph describing the chain of migration of Turkish tribes (§3). 'Aufī's passage is only a translation of it.

The Syriac Map published by the late Mingana in the *Manchester Guardian* of 19th May, 1933, shows at the eastern extremity of the Sixth Clime "Qirqiz; Qay and Qun; the country of the Turks and Mongols (!)." The last detail makes it difficult to accept the date of A.D. 1150 attributed to it by the editor. In any case, the description of the Sixth Clime is apparently influenced by Bīrūnī's *Tafhīm*, which manual is also directly responsible for Yāqūt's description of the Climes, I, 33.[2]

Thus Bīrūnī, Kāshgharī and Marvazi are our original authorities on the Qāy. The date of the *Tafhīm* (1029 ?) in which the Qāy and Qūn are mentioned for the first time might suggest that the information on the Far Eastern peoples was brought by the K'itan embassy of A.D. 1027 (Chap. VIII, §22). The distance between the Qāy and Qūn on the one hand (6th Clime) and the Qitay on the other (2nd Clime) is considerable. It may indicate that the tribes had already begun their westward trek, unless it is due to the southern expansion of the Qitay.

Kāshghari's enumeration of the order in which the tribes come is presumably more reliable than their position on his Map. As there is no trace of the Qūn in Kāshghari, he may have in view some later period when the Qāy had moved still more to the west before vanishing from the stage and being forgotten by later writers.

Who were the Qāy ?[3] Some connection with the Qitay and some similarity of names make me think of the Hi (read: *χi*),[4] who are often coupled with the Qitay. In the Orkhon inscription the name *Tatabï* presumably refers to them,[5] while the Chinese transcription may have preserved their indigenous appellation (originally K'u-mo-hi). In the *T'ang-shu* their territory is said to be contiguous in the north-east with the K'itan and in the west with the Turks.

[1] I, 33: they pronounce *y* instead of *j*; I, 393: their word *qïrnaq*, "a slave girl"; III, 108: their word *qal*, "a fruit, a berry" (both words in common with several other tribes).

[2] This map seems to be identical with that published by Chabot, *Une mappemonde Syrienne du XIII^e siècle*, in *Bull. de géog. hist. et descr.*, 1897, pp. 98-112, and 1898, pp. 31-43. Cf. Honigmann, *o.c.*, 167-78.

[3] Marquart, *Komanen*, 53, 187, made a mistake in confusing the *Qāy* (Kashghari, I, 28) with the Oghuz clan *Qayï* (Kāshghari, I, 56: *Qayïgh*). On the other hand he thought that the founders of the Qipchaq dynasty (*circa* 514/1120) were Hi, *ibid.*, 117, 137.

[4] According to Karlgren, the pronunciation of the sign in Cantonese is *hay* (Haloun). This makes it still nearer to Qay. Pelliot, *J.A.*, April, 1920, 150, restores the ancient reading Hi as *γiäi*, or, in the complete form K'-u-mo-hi, **K'uo-mwak-γiäi* < **Qumaγay*.

[5] Thomsen, *Inscriptions*, 141, and *ZDMG*, 1924, 174. Melioransky, *Zap.*, XII, 100.

As early as A.D. 696, they had made an alliance with the latter. In the beginning of the ninth century they allied themselves with the Uyghurs.[1] Finally, the K'itan subdued the Hi and I learn from Prof. Haloun that they transferred a considerable number of them to the north-west of the great bend of the Yellow River. The solution of our problem lies in this direction, but it must be reserved as a prize for those who can read the Chinese chronicles of the K'itan.

B. The Qūn. The name is found only in Biruni and Marvazi (>'Aufi). As in the case of Qāy, the earliest information about Qūn was possibly obtained through the K'itan ambassador, but the additional facts seem to be due to Ākinchi b. Qochqar (v.i. p. 101). A "very old, correct and reliable" MS. of 'Aufi (Br.Mus.Or. 2676) instead of *Qwn* gives *Q.ry*, which form caused me to suppose, *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 285, that Qūn=Qūrī, v.i. §5 *ter.* This surmise is no more defendable in view of Marvazi's clear spelling Qūn,[2] and his unexpected revelation that the Qūn were Nestorian Christians. The first report of a considerable success of Christian proselytization among the Far Eastern nomads, namely, the conversion of the Kereit, reached the West only about A.D. 1009.[3] This date corroborates the assumption that the great migration could have taken place only in the eleventh century. The name Qūn, however, does not occur among the Christian tribes of the Far East.[4] As the conversion of an important tribe would not have passed unobserved in the centre of Nestorian administration, we have to suppose either that the Qun were only a part of some federation (Kereit, Öngüt) or that Qun is a Qitay term for a tribe familiar to us under a different name. As yet we know of no conversions to the north of Mongolia. Thus it is probable that the Qun were established among the Mongols.

Marquart's theory, *Komanen*, 80, about the Qun being a division of the tribe *Marqa* or *Murqa* is a mistake. Instead of 'Aufi's *m.rqa* Marvazi has a clear *firqa*, "a tribe," and this reading is supported by the Persian variant *mardumī* in one of 'Aufi's MSS. Consequently, *exit Murqa*!

Professor Haloun whom I have consulted on the identity of the Qūn has made a new and original suggestion. He would consider the possibility of the *Qūn* being the T'u-yü-hun. "Beside the full form of the latter name, the shortened forms *T'u-hun* and *T'ui-hun* are also, and in fact preferably, used in the Chinese sources from the seventh century A.D. onwards. Instances of simple *Hun* (Middle Chinese *γuen*) are very numerous as well".

[1] See Iakinf [Bichurin], *Istoriya narodov*, 1/2, pp. 470–6, where the information on the Hi is grouped together.

[2] The name *Qūrī* figures in Marvazi in Chap. VIII, §35, but unfortunately for our comparative purpose, not in Chap. IX, §5 *ter*.

[3] Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.*, III, 279–80; see now this passage in A. Mingana, *The early spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, Manchester, 1925, p. 15.

[4] The Christian tribes among the Mongols were Kereit, Öngüt, Nayman and partly Merkit. See Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1914, 623–44, and Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 1939, 243–6.

"The first known home of the T'u-yü-hun was in south-western Manchuria and their original language may have been a Mongolian dialect.[1] About A.D. 310 they occupied the country round the present Ho-chou in Kan-su and made themselves masters of the Kökenör region over which they ruled uncontested from A.D. 446.[2] After a crushing defeat inflicted upon the T'u-yü-hun by the Tibetans in 663, their qaγan, together with a large body of his followers, was settled by the Chinese at An-lo-chou, to the south of modern Ning-hsia (A.D. 672), while other fractions of the tribe were established near Yen-an-fu in Shen-si (Hun-chou), in south-eastern Ordos (Ning-shuo-chou), on the Ulan-müren, south of Liang-chou (Ko-mên-chou), and elsewhere. In 769 An-lo-chou in its turn was taken by the Tibetans and the main body of the T'u-yü-hun shifted to the region of Yin-shan, north of the great bend of the Huang-ho, where they formed the chief constituent element of the population during the ninth and tenth centuries, the other elements being the Sha-to, the Ch'i-p'i and other Turkish tribes. In the second half of the ninth century an important division of the T'u-yü-hun moved further on to Northern Shan-si. Their rule over Ta-t'ung (881–891) was broken by the Sha-to, and thereupon a group settled round Yü-chou (near the Little Wu-t'ai-shan) became paramount. During the tenth century this group practically bordered on the "Western Hi" who, fleeing the K'itan, had occupied Kuei-chou (present Huai-lai, north-west of Peking). The K'itan subdued the T'u-yu-hun of Yin-shan in 916 and dominated the territory of Yü-chou in 938. The T'u-yu-hun of Yü-chou crossed over to Chinese territory, and in 946 were almost annihilated near Lan-chou (north-west of T'ai-yüan-fu). There seems to be no direct indication as to a migration of the remaining T'u-yü-hun to the west, but their name disappears from Eastern-Asiatic records during the eleventh century."[3]

The prolonged stay of the T'u-yü-hun in the region of Yin-shan makes it quite plausible that at least a part of them were touched by Christian propaganda radiating from Ordos. In this important point too Prof. Haloun's hypothesis looks very satisfactory.

As the scene of the clash between the Qay and Qun has to be placed somewhere in Eastern Mongolia, and the Shāriya whom the Qun subsequently pressed are to be sought near Lake Aral, the distance which the Qun travelled over could not be under 4000 Kms. This is the most obscure link in the chain of migrations. The Qun must have been in good numbers to provoke a further displacement of the western tribes, but their road ran through regions equally removed from Chinese, Muslim and Western observers. Apart from Marvazi, the only reference to the migration of the Qun is found in Matthēos of Urha, in whose text "the people of Serpents" corresponds to our *Qun* (v.i. p. 102). The only representative of the tribe

[1] Pelliot, *Note sur les T'ou-yu-houen*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1921, pp. 323–30.

[2] Iakinf [Bichurin], *Istorya Tibeta i Khukhunora*, I, pp. 73–99.

[3] It seems less probable that the Qun might have been connected with a Tölis tribe *Hun* which becomes known *circa* A.D. 600 and whose later destinies are closely connected with the Uyghurs. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, p. 87, n. 3, No. 10.

whose memory has survived is the amir Äkinchi b. Qochqar, of whom it will be more convenient to speak in the following paragraph.

C. AL-SHĀRIYA. With regard to this group we have three questions to consider, namely, (*a*) its relation to the homonymous group mentioned in the chapter on China; (*b*) the implications of the name; and (*c*) the authority for Marvazi's report.

(*a*) A group of al-Shāriya is described in Chapter VIII, §20, at a half-month's distance to the east of Shan-chou (or Sha-chou ?). These Shāriya who are said to have fled from Islam, i.e. from some more westerly region, seem to have been connected with the Sarī-Yughurs of Kan-su. The more important group of the Shāriya which, in the great migration of Turkish tribes, forms the principal connecting link between Western Asia and Eastern Europe, is to be located some 3,000 Kms. to the N.W. of the first group. If the identity of their name points to their appurtenance to the same nation, the latter must have experienced considerable vicissitudes and have been very widely scattered.

(*b*) Stripped of the Arabic ending the name appears in 'Aufi as *Sārī*. Barthold[1] restored this form as Turkish *sarï*, "yellow," and compared it with the name of the Qipchaq (Komans), whom the Russians call Polovtsi (from половый, "yellowish, sallow," see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 315) and the Western Europeans, Pallidi, etc.[2]

As is customary with nomade federations, the "Qipchaq" must have been an association of various tribes,[3] within which the chieftainship was assumed by single clans, families and even outsiders. Very probably the variety of names under which the federation is known reflects the historical succession of leadership within it. The *Ḥudūd*, §18, refers to several territories intermediate between the Kimäk and Qipchaq. The name of one of them spelt *Y.ysūn-yāsū* made me suspect in the first part of it a reference to some Yughurs whose presence in the Qara-qum sands is referred to in several sources, *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 309–10.[4] If Marvazi's §3 has in view this tribe, the comparison with Chap. VIII, §20, might suggest that, after the catastrophe of A.D. 840, a part of the Uyghurs had sought refuge in this remote region lying to the north-east of the Aral lake. We have no means, however, of answering the questions when and why the

[1] In his review of Marquart's *Komanen*, which H. H. Schaeder has translated into German in his introduction to Marquart's *Wehrot und Arang*, p. 34°.

[2] The coming-into-being of the Qipchaq forms the subject of Marquart's book, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 1914. Cf. now *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §21, with my commentary. Recently D. A. Rasovsky has published a series of five excellent articles on the Polovtsi, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 1935–9 (see especially Chapter I: the origins of the Polovtsi).

[3] In Juvaynī, II, 102, I should now restore the names of the two rivers QYLY and QYMJ as **Qanqli* and *Qibjakh*.

[4] Or could the name of this group represent some variation of *Yugra* (v.i. §12 *ter*). We are insufficiently informed of the early distribution of this Finnish tribe which before A.D. 1000 is supposed to have occupied the middle and lower course of the Obi and the lower reaches of the Irtish, see V. N. Chernetsov, *Ocherk etnogeneza Obskikh Yugrov*, in *Krat. Soob. Inst. Mater. Kult.*, IX, 1941, pp. 18–28.

Kan-chou Yughurs received their surname *Sarï* ("Yellow") (v.i. p. 77), and whether some larger division of the tribe was entitled to this appellation.[1] Should our identification of the Shāriya find a further confirmation, one might imagine that the western series of migration was provoked by this particular tribe, while the rest of the "Qipchaq" federation was not affected by it. In any case, to be in the position to press on the Muslim Türkmäns, the Shāriya (whether Polovtsi, or a special Uyghur tribe) must have lived in the neighbourhood of Lake Aral and the lower course of the Sir-daryā.[2]

Before we survey the repercussions of the movement among the western tribes it will be helpful to consider one important point throwing light on the origin of §3.

I am inclined to connect the transmission of our report with the person of an amir of Qun origin whose name is found in our text. According to Juvaynī, II, 3, Äkinchi b. Qochqar was Sanjar's slave, whereas I. Athīr, X, 181, says that he was one of Bark-yaruq's slaves and that this sultan appointed him Khwārazmshāh. Bark-yaruq began to reign in Shavval 487/14 October–11 November, 1094, and the nomination of Äkinchi was probably made on the occasion of Bark-yaruq's first visit to Khorasan after the overthrow of his tyrannous uncle Arslan Arghun. Bark-yaruq reached his army on 5 Jamādī I 490/20 April, 1096, and stayed in Khorasan over seven months. Äkinchi had time to collect a force of 10,000, most probably in his new government, and then came to Marv to join the Sultan, who by that time had returned to 'Irāq. Äkinchi arrived with a small escort and, while engaged in merry-making, was attacked and killed by two rival amirs. This must have happened towards the very end of 1097. Consequently, only for a very short time did Äkinchi enjoy his governorship, though a previous acquaintance with Khwārazm was a necessary prerequisite of his appointment. The fact that both his father's and his son's names are known points to some family tradition as accounting for Äkinchi's own whereabouts. A man of such standing as to become Khwārazmshāh, i.e. the governor responsible for the whole northern front of the Seljuk empire, must have been a prominent personality fully aware of the events in the steppe to the north of the Aral lake and the Caspian. There is nothing strange in the supposition that the court physician Sharaf al-Zamān, himself a native of Marv, knew him personally. He might even have been called to attend on the dying Khwārazmshāh.

It stands to reason that the immense migration of tribes ranging from Manchuria to the Black Sea could not be a matter of a few

[1] We can only put on record, as a mere parallel, that at an earlier time, the Türgish were divided into two groups called "Black" and "Yellow," see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 301. A considerable stream Sarī-su flows in the neighbourhood of the Qara-qum sands.

[2] Marquart, *Komanen*, 41, took *Sārī* for the capital of Mazandaran, but in his corrections, *ibid.*, 202, has admitted that the country of Sārī must have lain to the east of the Turkmans.

years, nor could it have been surveyed in its entirety from outside. Very probably the two series of moves, "Qāy—Qūn—Shāriya" and "Türkmān—Ghuz—Pecheneg" were knitted together at some central point, such as Khwārazm. No person was better qualified to correlate the facts than Äkinchi b. Qochqar.[1]

If our surmise is correct, the *terminus ante quem* of the report is A.D. 1097, but the family tradition may have been considerably older, and the only course open to us is to check the date of the last waves of the migration which reached the shores of the Black Sea. This will oblige us to reverse the order of our survey and proceed from the West to the East.

D. BAḤR ARMĪNIYA. No sea, except the Lakes of Urmia or Van could be called "Armenian." The mistake in Marvazi (and 'Aufi) is obvious. In the chapter on the Turks (§13), the Majgharī are said to occupy the territory down to Baḥr al-Rūm, and, as the Pechenegs ousted the Magyars from these lands, *Baḥr Armīniya* must be restored as *Baḥr al-Rūmiya*, a natural term for the Black Sea, see Chap. IX, §13.

E. The PECHENEGS (v.i. §10). In the famous passage of *De administrando imperio* (Chap. 37), Constantine Porphyrogenitus says that fifty, or fifty-five years before the composition of his book (written *circa* A.D. 948) the Khazars and the Oghuz (Ghuz) drove the Pechenegs from their former territory and the Pechenegs came to seize the land of the Magyars (Τοῦρκοι in Byzantine terminology), "which they occupy even to this day." According to Constantine's chronology, the territory near the Black Sea was reached by the Pechenegs shortly before A.D. 900, i.e. earlier than Apaoki laid the first foundations of the K'itan state (*circa* A.D. 907)! Consequently our report has in view some further movements among the Pechenegs. In 1036 Yaroslav of Kiev inflicted a crushing defeat on them, but down to the middle of the eleventh century they were active in the Balkans and on the Byzantine front. Under the year 1054 the Russian chronicles refer for the first time to the "Torks" (=Ghuz) and, simultaneously, to the Polovtsi (Qipchaq). In 1064 the Ghuz appear on the Danube, see *Ḥudūd*, 316.

Of great importance is the passage which Marquart, *Komanen*, 55, discovered in the Armenian historian Mattheos of Urha who *sub anno* 1050–1 says that a people of "Serpents" (*avč-ic'n*), having defeated the "Pallid, or Fallow ones (*xartēš*)," the latter did the same to the "Uz and Patsinnak," and finally the Pechenegs (perhaps with some others of the enumerated tribes) raided the Byzantine territory. The raid is confirmed by Byzantine sources,[2] but nothing else is known of its remote stimulus. In any case, it must not be

[1] The identity of Äkinchi in 'Aufi's text with the governor of Khwarazm was discovered by Marquart, *Komanen*, 1914, but Barthold in his *Turkestan*, 1900, had already written on the said Khwārazmshāh (see Engl. transl., p. 324).

[2] See the remarkable study by V. G. Vasilyevsky, *Vizantiya i Pechenegi* in *Trudi*, I,[2] 1908, 1–175, which remained unknown to Marquart, *Komanen*, 55.

imagined that Mattheos resumes the events of one single year, the migration on such a scale having evidently required a series of seasons. If we compare the passage of Mattheos with our text, his "Pallid ones" (a usual designation of the Koman-Qipchaq) may correspond to our Shārī/Sarī (in Turkish "yellow, pallid") and his "Serpents" to our Qun.[1] Mattheos knew nothing of the Qay who had remained in the Far East.

We might remember at this place Constantine's testimony that after A.D. 889 some Pechenegs stayed back under the Ghuz dominion, which fact seems to be confirmed by the *Ḥudūd* (<Jayhānī). This part of the people may have become involved in the series of movements described in §3, and thus have added to the unrest in the southern Russian steppes occupied by the other Pechenegs.

F.G. The GHUZ and TÜRKMĀN. The rigorous distinction between the heathen and Muslim Ghuz (v.s. §2) has some chronological importance. Our sources on the beginnings of Islam among Turkomans are very scanty. From Gardīzī, 64, we learn that the chief of the "Ghuz Turks," with whom the last Samanid sought refuge in 391/1001, made profession of Islam and established marriage ties with his guest.[2] This shows how tardily Islam was finding its way into the steppes.[3]

The following details in our analysis merit special attention.

(*a*) The great migration referred to by Marvazi is connected with the rise of the Qitay dynasty (907/1124).

(*b*) The Qitay embassy of 1027 must be responsible for the first mention of the Qāy and Qūn found in Biruni. Both nations are still placed east of the Khirkhiz. This suggests that the eastern part of the great migration began *after* A.D. 1027.

(*c*) The Christianity of the Qūn (Marvazi) also brings us down to the eleventh century.

(*d*) The superiority of the Muslim Türkmāns over the heathen Ghuz similarly points to the eleventh century.

(*e*) Marvazi's chain of migrations is not linked either with the Khazars or with the Majgharis, which can indicate that the former ceased to exist as an important state (second half of the tenth century), and the latter had already settled beyond the Carpathians (after A.D. 900).

(*f*) As the first southward spread of the Pechenegs (shortly before A.D. 900) is chronologically out of the question, our source must refer to the second Pecheneg migration about the middle of the eleventh century.

[1] In the mouth of a Christian author, the nickname "Serpents" is somewhat unexpected when applied to a tribe that is said to have professed Christianity.

[2] Barthold, *Turkestan*, 269, and *Ocherk istorii turkmen. naroda*, 20, 22, identifies this Yabghū (or Pīghū) with an ancestor of the Seljuks, which gives the facts an added significance. [*Puxuy, Pïγu* "a kind of hawk", see Le Coq, *Bemerk. zur türk. Falknerei*, in *Baessler-Archiv*, 1912, II/5, p. 114].

[3] As suggested above, p. 94, the term *Türkmān* in our §2 may be an anachronism introduced by Marvazi into an earlier tradition.

(*g*) The Khwārazmshāh Äkinchi b. Qochqar, who died A.D. 1097, may have witnessed in his youth, or known through his father, the last stages of the great migration; the tribal tradition of the Qun was undoubtedly preserved in his family.

(*h*) *Grosso modo* the migration is to be located within the period A.D. 1030–50, as already guessed by Marquart.[1]

It remains for us to eliminate one more complication. The final formation of the Qipchaq state is attributed by Marquart, *Komanen*, 137, to the leadership of a family which, according to Chinese sources, had left the district of Wu-p'ing on the river Chê-fien, near the mountain of An-ta-han, see Bretschneider, II, 72. Marquart locates this region in the province of Jehol.[2] The prince who led the migration was K'ü-ch'u, and we are told that his grandson I-no-ssü was an old man when he submitted to Chengiz. This detail suggests that the emigration of K'ü-ch'u took place "about A.D. 1120 at the latest," and Pelliot, *J.A.*, April, 1920, p. 150, agrees with Marquart in placing it "in the beginning of the twelfth century." Marquart further thinks that K'ü-ch'u left his country in connection with the rise of the Kin (Jurje) in A.D. 1115 and the fall of the K'itan in A.D. 1125.

This particular migration of a Far Eastern tribe forms a curious parallel to the series described by Marvazi, but can hardly be identical with the latter. According to Marvazi the Qūn left the Far East when the Qitāy were still in power and the "beginning of the twelfth century" is also too late in consideration of the latest date found in the *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*, namely, 514/1120. Marquart's assumption that K'ü-ch'u was a Hi is doubtful for by the time in question great changes must have taken place in the ethnical composition of Jehol. In any case, the Qun amir Äkinchi (d. A.D. 1093) could not be connected with the migration of K'ü-ch'u.

§4. The KHIRKHĪZ. The beginning on orientation and burials is abridged in 'Aufī, *ibid.*, lines 14–17. In the *Ḥudūd* the Khallukh and Kimak are similarly enumerated as neighbours of the Khirkhiz (§14), and a colony of the latter (§15, 13.) may have been in touch with the Yaghma and Kuchā (*ibid.*, p. 273, lines 8–9); burning of the dead as in Muṭahhar, IV, 22, and in Marvazi,[3] but without the latter's record of a later change. Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, p. 87, also mentions the burning of the dead and the *faghīnūn*. The latter term is undoubtedly of Eastern-Iranian (Soghdian) origin and

[1] *Komanen*, 57. Some of Marquart's arguments are wrong. Marquart himself corrected his interpretation of I. Athir, IX, 289, in his later article in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, 1924, p. 276, note 5. His basic error is the confusion of the Far Eastern Qāy with the Ghuz clan of Qayï (<Qayïgh).

[2] Wu-p'ing-lu is the territory of the "middle" capital of the K'itan (Ta-ting-fu under the Kin). It lies in the present territory of the Kharachin tribe, in the neighbourhood of Khada=Ch'ih-fêng (G. Haloun).

[3] The recent (1939) Russian archaeological expedition to the ancient Qirghiz area on the left bank of the upper Yenisei discovered burial places (already pillaged at an early time) in which scattered, "sometimes *charred*" human bones were found.

connected with the word *βagh*, "God" (cf. *faghfūr*). The description of the practices of a Turkish shaman (*qam*) is very accurate.

§5. The beginning of this story seems to be a vague reference to the terrible defile of Kemchik-bom through which the Yenisei pierces the Sayan mountains. At some places the gorge is only 30 yards wide with the current rushing along at the speed of 40 miles an hour. The journey from Cha-kul (above the gorge) to Minusinsk lying in the plain used to take 3–5 days, see Carruthers, *Unknown Mongolia*, 1914, I, 110. Further on, from Achinsk to Krasnoyarsk the river again flows through a mountainous landscape. The four watercourses must be the head-waters of the Yenisei rising in Uriangkhay (Tannu-Tuvim), viz. the Ulu-kem, formed of Bei-kem and Khuakem, and the Kemchik. Rashīd al-dīn calls the head-waters of the Yenisei *Sekiz-müren* ("the Eight rivers").

Nothing can be said about the people described in the second part of the item. The dogs "as large as oxen" remind one of the mysterious country called in Turkish It-baraq (**Iti-baraq*, "one whose dogs are hairy"). This name occurs in the story of Oghuz-khan's exploits, see Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 23, Abul-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 18, and *Oghuz-name*, §34. The particulars of It-baraq (Baraqa) are very contradictory. Marquart, *Komanen*, 146, compares its people with Volga Bulghars; Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, 1930, 337, sees in the name of its king Masar an echo of Miṣr (Egypt); Bang and Rachmati, *SBA*, 1932, read the name of the country **Barqan*, with reference to Kāshghari, I, 378, according to whom "the Lower Tavghaj is Barqan, i.e. Kāshghar." If my suggestion had some truth in it, we should look for It-baraq on the middle Yenisei.

The story which must go back to Jayhānī was translated by 'Aufī, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 100 = Niẓāmu'd-dīn, *o.c.*, No. 1967; summed up in Barthold, *Kirgizi*, 1927, 24.

§5 *bis*. This paragraph seems to be a more sober version of Chapter XV, §21.[1] Both refer to a region in the neighbourhood of Kāshghar which the epitomist has some difficulty in describing. The second passage is clearer in Muṭahhar, IV, 92, who says that a kind of *nasnās* ("faun") is found in the region of Bāmīr (Pamir), which is a desert (*mafāza*) stretching between Kashmīr, Tibet, Vakhān and China. The *nasnās* are covered with fur except on their faces, and leap like gazelles; the people of Vakhān hunt them and eat them. The animal may be the *Ovis Poli* (T. A. Minorsky). Kāshghari, born in the vicinity of Pamir, had to remove the *nasnās* to a farther *terra incognita*. On his Map some sands are shown to the north of the lake into which the rivers Ili, Irtish and Obi are supposed to disembogue, with the legend: "nasnās are said to live in this wilderness."

§5 *ter*. Two different items are wrongly coupled in this paragraph. The beginning corresponds to the description of the road

[1] In Chapter IX, §§8 and 8 *bis* present a similar case of parallelism.

from Chīnānjkath to the Khirkhīz, Gardīzī, 86, cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā*, 282. The wild people of the second part correspond to the Fūrī/Qūrī, whom the *Ḥ.-'Ā*. and Gardīzī place *beyond* and to the *east* of the Khirkhiz. Gardīzī's Persian translation, pp. 86–7, runs parallel with our text, the latter being fuller at the end. Muṭahhar, IV, 96, and the *Ḥudūd*, §14, 1. are brief, but the former adds two items: on a people living among the Turks which salts and eats the corpses of its enemies, and on another people "living in the north" (cf. §12 *ter*) existing like wild animals. All these details must go back to Jayhānī.

Marvazi leaves out the name **Qūrī*, but it occurs in another paragraph (Chap. VIII, §35), which is also found in the *Ḥ.-'Ā*. (<Jayhānī ?). In it the *Quri are similarly placed in the neighbourhood of the Khirkhiz. The *Ḥudūd* (§14, 1.) describes the Fūrī (Qūrī ?) as brutal cannibals having a language of their own, whereas in Gardīzī's more detailed description the wild people seem to be the marsh-dwellers on the road to the large (or great ?) tribe Fūrī(?) living at a distance of 2–3 months beyond the Khirkhiz. Even if easy stages of 30 Kms. be reckoned, a radius of 1800–2700 Kms. from the Yenisei takes us to the neighbourhood of the Khingan range, and even into Manchuria. If the Fūrī (Qūrī ?) lived at the end of the road they must have been of Tunguz or Mongol stock. The form *Qūrī* is preferable to *Fūrī*,[1] because it is supported by other sources. In the Orkhon inscriptions a name *Qurïqan* twice occurs in the series: "Qïrqïz, Qurïqan, Otuz-Tatar, Qitay, Tatabï." Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 168, refers to the peoples "Qūrī, Barghūt, Tūmāt and Bāylūk, which he classes as Mongols[2] and places in the region called Barqūjīn-Tükūm in the neighbourhood of the Qirqiz. *Barqūjīn*, *ibid*., 108, 112, 168, 188, 189, is said to be beyond the Selenga, apparently in Transbaikalia.[3]

§6. The KHARLUKH. Translated in 'Aufi, Marquart, *Komanen*, 40, lines 17–20. The mountain Tūnis (read: **Tūlis*, as in the *Ḥ.-'Ā*., p. 283) must be Altai (or Tarbaghatai ?). *T.rk.s* (read: *Türgish*) is a welcome indication how *Turkistān* (?) in Gardīzī's more complete text is to be restored, cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā*., p. 287. The *Ḥ.-'Ā*. treats the Chigil and Tukhsi as separate tribes and so does Gardīzī, *o.c.*, 102. Marvazi may introduce here some later information, but the basic facts on the Türgish and Qarluq must belong to Jayhani. Of the other tribes, *Byskl* ('Aufi *Ḥsky*) is otherwise unknown (in Transoxiana there was a place *B.y.skān*, see *Ḥ.-'Ā*., p. 355 (I. Hauqal, 396: *M.skān*). **Bulāq* is certainly better than Aufi's *N.dā*: the tribe is mentioned as a Yaghma clan in the *Ḥ.-'Ā*., §13. *Kwk.rkīn* ('Aufi:

[1] **Furi* might be explained as a Tunguz word meaning "children, family, descendants," cf. Manchu *furi*, *fursun*, Goldi *puri*, as quoted in Pelliot, *J.A.*, avril, 1925, p. 196.

[2] Also Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 521: Qūrī, Barqū, Qirqïz.

[3] The name is reflected in Russian Баргузин, as the north-eastern wind blowing on Baikal is called. Barguzin is also a small borough to the east of Baikal.

K.wālīn) may be connected with the title *Kwd.rkīn*, known among the Ghuz, cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā*., p. 312.

§7. The KĪMĀK. The *Ḥ.-'Ā*., §18, abridges the same source: nomads, sable-martens, migrations to the Ghuz territory. Gardīzī,[1] *l.c.*, 83–4, gives a very close Persian parallel (cf. also the *Ākām al-marjān*, *BSOS*, IX/1, 1937, 147). A new detail is the use of skis by the Kimäk. The description is different from what is found in §12 *ter*.

§§8–9 have been closely translated into Persian by 'Aufi. The text (Br.Mus.Or. 2676, f. 67) was published and explained by Marquart in *Ostas. Zeitschr.*, VIII, 1919–20, pp. 296–9, but Marvazi's text raises some new points. Through some oversight, Marvazi in his diffuse Chapter XV gives another variant of §8, which we treat here as §8 *bis*, and in it he happily indicates his source as *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*, i.e. undoubtedly Jayhānī's lost work, as Marquart had guessed.

Owing to some misunderstanding there are a few discrepancies between the Arabic and Persian texts. As it stands, Marvazi's version can be understood only in the sense that (*a*) there were three nations living "to the right" of the Kimäk, and that (*b*) the dumb barter took place between the merchants and the Kimäks (cf. *wa-yajī'u al-Kīmākī* and *tajī'u al-Kīmākiya*). It is obvious, however, that the story refers to some primitive population, much wilder than the Turkish Kimäks, and 'Aufi must be right in applying the report on dumb barter to the three nations "living to the right of the Kimak." But how could he have corrected what was incorrect in his source ?

I think the explanation is that *Kīmākī* of our copy of Marvazi is a mis-spelling of some different but similarly spelt name. Here the *Ḥudūd* comes to our rescue, while quoting among the Khirkhiz a tribe called *K.saym*, which I have tried to explain as **Kishtim*, *ibid.*, 236. Rashīd al-dīn's text, ed. Berezin, V, 89, VII, 112, spells the name *K.st.mī*, *K.stymī*. According to the *Ḥudūd* the *K.saym* living on mountain slopes had some traits of similarity with the Kīmāk and Khallukh. This indication points to their being neighbours of the said two nations, and I take it that the name of this tribe stood in Marvazi's text instead of *Kīmāk*, and was left out by 'Aufi because he was unable to decipher it. In Russian seventeenth-century documents the Turkicized tributaries of the Qirghiz are indiscriminately referred to as *Kishtim*. In the present case also this name possibly covered the original "three tribes" living between the Kimäk and Khirkhiz.[2] By their origins the Kishtim must have

[1] This is undoubtedly the original pronunciation of the name, the *alif* of the Arabic form being only a *mater lectionis*.

[2] Rashid al-din, VII, 112, under one heading describes *three* "bushmen" tribes: Ūrāsūt, Tälängüt and K.st.mī (**Kishtīm*).

belonged to the Samoyed stock or to the mysterious "Yenisei" group.[1]

The tribes worshipped Fire and Water and, like the Khirkhiz (§4, cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §14), burnt their dead. This last habit may account for their reputation as Fire-worshippers, as was apparently the case with the ancient Rūs whom the Arab writers called *majūs*, in view of their burial system as described by I. Faḍlān, cf. Minorsky, *Rūs* in *E.I.*

The worshipping of waters may reflect the influence of the western neighbours of the *K.saym*. According to Gardīzī, p. 83, the *Kīmāk* worshipped the Irtish and said: "the river is the god of the *Kīmāk*."

The indication "to the right of the Kīmāk" is naturally vague. As in Chap. VIII, §35, the expression "to the left of China" is interpreted by NE. we might take our "right'" for SW. But as the observer's starting point was probably Bukhara, the indication "to the right" would apply to any southerly direction, from the Siberian plains towards the great belt of Central Asian mountains. According to the *Ḥudūd* the *K.saym* (*Kishtim) were trappers and lived in a hilly country, somewhere in the Altai region. As the merchants visiting them from the west used a waterway we should think either of the Irtish or Obi, and rather the former, because the sweep of the Obi would make the journey too long.[2]

Marquart attached a special importance to 'Aufi's mention that "the merchandise of that land is copper cups (of) clean (work)." He connected this detail with the "Southern Siberian copper and bronze civilisation" of the region between the Irtish and Yenisei. However, in the light of Marvazi's text we must understand the passage in the sense that copper cups were *not* a local product but rather the product in particular demand among the three tribes. Marvazi definitely states that the cups were used as ornaments by their women, and refers to another article of importation, "the red bags (*al jūrab al-ḥumr* ?)," which 'Aufi left out in his translation.

§9. The record of this undotted name apparently goes back to Jayhānī, but has survived only in Marvazi (and 'Aufi). Looking from the Kimāk region, the *qibla*, i.e. the direction of the Ka'ba, is SW. More probably the *qibla* is meant in the general sense of the south. Apparently the tribe of §9 lived more to the west than the tribes of §8. On the strength of 'Aufi's spelling *M.ḍr.ba* Marquart thought of the Urlian people Meshchera (*Mishar*) living among the Bashkir, but did not himself insist on this unlikely surmise. The final element of the name is of course the Arabic suffix *-iyya*. The name may then be read BṢR, NṢR, YṢR, and eventually BṢRA, BṢRI, etc. An initial *n* is improbable in a Turkish name, and

[1] See Aristov, *Etnicheskiy sostav turetskikh plemen*, in *Zhivaya Starina*, 1896, III, 323, 340. Of the Yenisei peoples (apparently corresponding to the people called by the Chinese *Ting-ling*), there remains now only a small group of Kett (improperly called "Yenisei Ostiaks").

[2] Unless the Vas-Yugan portage were used.

Arabic *ṣ* may stand for *č*. Our tribe lived in the woods, somewhere in the Altai region, and can not have anything to do with the BAṢRA, whom the still suspect letter of the Khazar king locates in the neighbourhood of the Khazar, cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 471. Should 'Aufi's form *MṢR be preferred, one might compare it with the name of one of the headwaters of the Tom river, called Mras-su. *Mras* (*Maras* ?), with metathesis of the *r*, comes very near to *Masar.[1] None of the names of the "bushmen" tribes in Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 112–7, is similar to MṢR.

§10. The PECHENEGS. Entirely as in Gardizi, p. 95. The abridgment of the *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, preserves only a few traces of the original source which refers to the time before the Pechenegs migrated to the south, i.e. before the tenth century A.D. Bakri, pp. 42–3, is more complete and adds some details on the conversion of the Pechenegs to Islam after 400/1009. On the Pechenegs see also §§2 and 3.

§11. The KHAZAR. See I. Rusta, 141–2, and Gardizi, 96 (who alone gives the same detail on the fortification of the camp); the geographical names also found in the *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §50 (see the Commentary, *ibid.*, pp. 450–60). Bakri, 43–4, mentions the same two towns, but gives more details (on the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism).

In the *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 453–4, I suggested that the names of the later town *S.qsīn* was nothing but a simplification of the earlier Sārigh-shin (*-sin* ?). The name of the other town (which probably lay on the eastern side of the Volga estuary) cannot be restored with certainty, but Marvazi increases the probability of a form like *Kh.t-baligh*, *Kh.n-baligh*, etc. (though hardly *Khān-baligh*!).

§12. The B.RDĀS. As in I. Rusta, 140–1, *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §52, and Gardizi, 96. Even the name *B.rdās* (Bakri: *F.rdās*) is characteristic for the older tradition (Jayhānī <I. Kh. ?) as against the form *Burṭās* found in Istakhrī, Mas'ūdī, etc. The tribe is usually identified with the Mordvans, or rather with the Moksha section of them, *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 462–5. There is some obscurity in the item on the emancipation of the Burdās females. Chwolson, who edited the passages from I. Rusta in 1869, interpreted it in the sense that the girl is free in choosing her lovers, until *a* suitor applies for her to her father and the latter gives her away to him. Our text seems to confirm this curious habit. The reading adopted by de Goeje in I. Rusta, 141, indefinitely speaks of *a* suitor to whom the father gives the girl away, subject to her (variant: *his*) consent. Gardizi's Persian translation definitely states that the girl chooses *the* suitor who (*ān mard*) then asks her father for her. This renders the text clearer but seems to contradict the preliminary statement that the girl "abandons the authority of her father" and the use of *khaṭībun* instead of the expected *al-khaṭīb*.

[1] The *Oghuz-name*, Chap. XXXIV, speaks of the king (*sic*) *Masar* (?) in the land *Baraqa*, but the characteristics of the latter are vague and contradictory, v.s. §5.

§§12 *bis*, *ter* and *quater* form one block of information centring round the Bulghar. 'Aufi, in his Persian translation, very closely follows Marvazi but leaves out certain details. Marquart, *Ein arabischer Bericht über die arktischen (uralischen) Länder aus dem 10. Jahrhunderte*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 1924, pp. 261–334, has studied 'Aufi's text in great detail, and also, 302–3, examined the problem of the sources.

His conclusions need partly to be re-examined. The difficult question of the origin of Marvazi's additional paragraphs can be summed up as follows:

(*a*) We now know that 'Aufi's immediate source was Marvazi. 'Aufi translates even the introductory paragraph of the *Tabā'i'* on the lack of temperance (or "harmony") in the men living far from the Equator, one of Marvazi's favourite themes!

(*b*) It is a fact that I. Rusta, the *Ḥudūd* and Gardīzi, of whom at least the latter two certainly used Jayhāni, omit the paragraph on Arctic lands and give a different description of the Bulghar. Very curiously they call the latter people *Bulkār*, which detail seems to reflect a Persian pronunciation (cf. also *Burdās* for *Burṭās*). We have to allow for the existence of earlier and later copies of Jayhāni's work, of which the former must have contained the "Bulkār-Burdās" report,[1] and the latter made use of the new information due to I. Faḍlān.

(*c*) It is true that the known texts of I. Faḍlān's report do not contain the details of Marvazi's chapter, but even the Mashhad MS. of I. Faḍlān is incomplete.[2] Some additional details may have survived in the private communications which I. Faḍlān addressed to his protector Jayhānī, as suggested above, p. 7. Under §12 *bis* the points of similarity between I.F. and Marvazi are enumerated and a point of divergence explained, and I should not discard I.F.'s responsibility for at least a part of Marvazi's facts.

(*d*) In Biruni's biography found in Yāqūt's *Irshād al-arīb*, VI, 310, it is reported[3] how "an ambassador from the extreme limits of the Turks" angered Sultan Maḥmūd by telling him that "beyond the sea, in the direction of the southern (*sic*) Pole," he saw the sun rotate visibly above the earth. This is very much like the detail on Arctic regions found in §12 *quater*. The Turks are pre-eminently a northern nation, and "southern" instead of "northern" may have crept into the anecdote by mistake. Abul-Ḥasan 'Ali Bayhaqi's *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq* (563/1164), recently published in Tehran (1317/1938), throws more light on the possible identity of the ambassador. It reports, p. 53, that in 415/1024 the padishah "of Bulghār and the

[1] The "Bulkār-Burdās" report was possibly incorporated in I. Khurdādhbih, as suggested by Barthold with regard to the description of the "Bulkār" in I. Rusta, Bakri and Gardīzi.

[2] See [Krachkovsky], *Puteshestviye Ibn Fadlana*, Leningrad, 1939.

[3] Possibly on the authority of the *Maqāmāt-i Abū Naṣr Mashkānī* by Abul-Faḍl Bayhaqi.

regions which go by the name of Bulghar (*sic*)," namely, al-amīr Abū-Isḥaq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. B.lt.vār had a dream suggesting that he should send an offering (*māl*) to Bayhaq, in the region of Nishapur, to be spent on alms (*nafaqa*) and the embellishment (*'imārat*) of the Friday mosques of Sabzavār and Khusraugird. He sent rich offerings and joined to them wonderful presents for the padishah of Khorasan, "the like of which wonders has never been seen." No doubt the gifts were intended for Sultan Maḥmūd.[1] This may have been the occasion on which the record of information on the Far North was completed by the court savants just as was done two years later with regard to the Far East, see Chap. VIII, §22. Copies of the report could easily have been circulated in Khorasan.

(*e*) Resemblance between Marvazi and Biruni can be traced not only in the *Tafhīm* (A.D. 1029), but also in the earlier *Taḥdīd al-amākin* (A.D. 1025), and in the later *Canon Masudicus* (A.D. 1030?), as shown below in §12 *ter*.[2] Consequently the idea of his borrowing directly from him is by no means out of the question, but as yet we know of no work of Biruni's containing an equally detailed account of the northern lands, *cf.* A. Z. Validi, *Die Nordvölker bei Biruni*, in *ZDMG*, 1936, pp. 38–51. Nor does the artless narration of Marvazi (and his original?) bear any resemblance to the ponderous and characteristic style of the "Muslim Eratosthenes."

(*f*) Even the latest date found in the *Tabā'i'* (514/1120) is too early to allow of any contact between Marvazi and Abū Ḥāmid of Granada, who claims to have stayed in Sakhsīn (ancient *Sārigh-sīn*, at the estuary of the Volga) in 525/1131 and 528/1134, and visited Bulghar in 530/1136; see Ferrand, *Le Tuḥfat al-Albāb*, in *Jour. As.*, juillet, 1925, pp. 116, 123, 132. It is quite possible though that the visitor from Spain used some of Marvazi's sources while embellishing them with the flowers of his fantasy, v.i. §12 *quater*. Meanwhile Abū Ḥāmid has preserved some details ("Black Sea") which help to elucidate dark points in Marvazi's condensed narration.

Provisionally only I. Faḍlan (A.D. 921) and the Bulghar embassy of A.D. 1024 may be considered as the likely indirect sources of Marvazi.

§12 *bis*. As already mentioned, the contents of this paragraph differ from what is found in I. Rusta, 141–2, Gardīzi, 97 (who exactly follows I. Rusta) and Bakri, 44–5.[3] Marvazi has the following details in common with I. Faḍlān: the name *Bulghār* (instead of *Bulkār* found in I. Rusta, etc.), the title of the king (absent in I.R., *Ḥ.-'Ā.* and Gardīzi), the town of *Suvār, the existence of hazel trees in the Bulghār land and, particularly, the short duration of the night, insufficient "for the cooking of a pot (of meat)," cf.

[1] In September, 1024, Maḥmūd was in Balkh, cf. M. Nazim, *S. Maḥmūd*, p. 53.

[2] According to Rieu Marvazi directly refers to Abū Rayḥān Birūni, v.s. p. 2.

[3] The *Ḥudūd*, §51, is too short and combines the Jayhāni and Balkhi (Iṣṭakhri) traditions. Through Balkhi he may have incorporated some of I. Faḍlān's facts.

I. Faḍlān in the Mashhad MS. $204b_7$, $206b_3$ and $205b_{17}$, and in Yāqūt, I, 723_{11}, 726_{17}, 725_{22}. As I. Faḍlān travelled from Khwārazm to Bulghār, the bearing (N.W.) and the distance between the two places may also go back to him. I. Faḍlān, Mashhad MS. 203b, estimates the distance at 70 days, as confirmed in *Puteshestviye*, note 308, but in the passage on the preparations for his journey, fol. 199a, he states that the embassy took victuals for three months! Cf. also Marquart's surmise, *o.c.*, 266, of a possible confusion of *sab'īn* ("70") and *tis'īn* ("90").

The title of the Bulghar king is separately quoted in §15: *Btlṭw*, which is no doubt identical with I. Faḍlān's *B.lṭwār*, see *Puteshestviye*, f. 204a and note 8. Both forms may be an ancient mis-spelling of the original **Yiltavar*, or *Yiltever* (?), cf. *Ḥudūd*, 461, identical with *eltäbär* found in the Orkhon inscriptions. In our text the name is mutilated, the initial *b* standing apparently for the Arabic preposition *bi*.[1]

In the Mashhad MS. *S.vān* represents **Suvār*; Iṣṭ., 225, quotes Suvār on the direct authority of someone who was preaching in the local mosque (*akhbaranī man kāna yakhṭubu bihā*). Visitors from Suvār, especially of a non-trading class, could not be numerous in Transoxiana. It is true that I. Faḍlān, f. 204b, mentions a special *khāṭib* (*sic*) in Bulghār, but, in view of the vagueness of his own function in the embassy with which he visited Bulghār, he himself might have been referred to in Transoxiana as *al-khaṭīb*.[2] The distance between Suvār and Bulghār is not recorded in I. Faḍlān's text, but the formula *akhbaranī* in Iṣṭ. (<Balkhi) suggests an oral communication.

§12 *ter.* I. Faḍlan's text contains only some scanty information on Wīsū which the traveller gathered from the Bulghar king, *Puteshestviye*, ff. 206a, 207b, 208a, and Yaqut, IV, 944.[3]

Biruni in his *Canon* enumerates side by side Bulghār, Īsū and Yūra.

	Long.	Lat.
The two towns Suvār and Bulghār, on the river of the Rūs and Saqāliba (or: in the direction (**fī naḥw*) of the R. and S.) ..	8°0' (?)	49°30
The country *Īsū with which the Bulgharians trade	69°0	55°0
The forests of Yūra whose inhabitants are wild and trade by dumb barter (*mu'ayanatan*)	63°0	47°30

[1] I. Faḍlan calls the king reigning in 309/921 Almush b. Shilkī (later renamed Ja'far b. 'Abdillāh), but in the introductory paragraph the king's name is Ḥasan b. Balṭavār. On the king reigning in 415/1024 (v.s. p. 111).

[2] Already Barthold in his note on I. Faḍlān's *risāla*, *Zap.*, XXI, 1913, XLI–III, suggested that Iṣṭakhri's reference was to I. Faḍlān. Marquart, *Arktische Länder*, 266, calls I. Faḍlān *khaṭīb*, and 319, "Prädiger."

[3] I.F. places them at 3 months' distance from the Bulghar, while Marvazi (and Biruni in *Taḥdīd*, as translated by A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, 50) reduces the distance to 20 days. Apparently I.F.'s text refers to summer communications by water, and Marvazi's to travelling by sleigh, as suggested by our text.

The captions present some interest, but the co-ordinates are out of order. As Biruni usually proceeds in the order of increasing longitudes, his enumeration apparently suggests for the Wīsū an easterly position with regard to the Bulghar, but the text, in its present state, is unreliable. The indication that the Bulghars traded with the Īsū coincides with Abū Ḥāmid's story.

Since Fraehn it has been accepted that the Wīsū are the Finnish *Ves* (**Veps*) whom the Russian Chronicles place near Belo-ozero and whose descendants (some 25,000) are still found between Lakes Onega and Ladoga.[1] The form Wīsū (I. Faḍlān) seems to be preferable to Īsū, which may be due to a confusion of the initial *waw* with *alif*.

The term *Yūra* is identical with Russian *Yugra*, cf. Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-'Umari, transl. Quatremère in *Notices et Extraits*, XIII, 284: *Yūghra*, Prof. S. V. Bakhrushin, *Ostiatskiye i vogulskiye kniazhestva v* xvi–xvii *vekakh*, Leningrad, 1935, writes that in the eleventh century the Novgorodians applied the name *Yugra* to the Ugrian peoples (i.e. cognate with Hungarians) who were living between the Pechora river and the Ural mountains. Novgorodians penetrated into their country after they had subjugated the Pechora tribes (probably Komi-Zïryans). In the first place the term *Yugra* was applied to the tribes which later were called the Ostiak, but among the latter there were certainly some Vogul tribes as well. The terms *Yugra* (**Yogra-yaz*) and *Vogul* ("wild") belong originally to the Komi language. Later the Ostiaks moved eastwards, and in the fourteenth century they were in occupation of the lower reaches of the Obi. Still later *Yugra*, in a territorial sense, was understood to cover the basin of the rivers Sosva and Sïgva.

Within our group of Muslim texts, Marvazi states that Bulghārs visit Yūra by dog-sleighs; Abū Ḥāmid (v.i.) does not refer to Yūra on the road Bulghār–Wīsū–the sea, and Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd*, gives a distance of 12 days by sleigh from Īsū to Yūra. These latter indications suggest that Yūra lived on one side, and probably to the east, of the Bulghār–Wīsū road. Since the distance (as the crow flies) of 850 Kms. between Bulghār and Belo-ozero was covered in 20 days, the distance of 12 days (*circa* 550 kms.) traced to the east of Belo-ozero would hardly reach the Yugra territory. At the most it would take us to the wooded basin of the Vïchegda, which even in the tenth century was presumably occupied by Permians (Komi–Zïryan).

The agreement of Biruni's caption on forests and dumb barter with Marvazi is an indication of a common source. Another example of dumb barter and contrivances for walking in snow is found in the description of the Kimäk region (§§7-8 *bis*); but the wooden

[1] According to M. V. Talitsky, *K ethnogenezu Komi*, in *Krat. soobshcheniya Inst Istor Mater. Kult.*, 1941, pp. 47-54, the Isu, as described by Gharnati, 'Aufi and Yāqūt, should be located on the upper Kama. Such questions cannot, however, be solved without a joint study of the available sources and their interdependence. On Yugra see above, p. 100.

skis of the Kimäk are distinct from the thigh-bone skates (?) which the Yūra people attached to their feet, to say nothing of the dog-sleighs used by the Bulgharians. For the parallels see Marquart's commentary on 'Aufi, *o.c.*, 289, 309, where he quotes for dog-sleighs (our §12 *bis*), M. Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, II, 479–81, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, II, 399–401; for skates, Rubruquis, ed. d'Avezac, p. 327, and for skis Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezine, VIII, 115.[1]

§12 *quater*. Marvazi and his translator 'Aufi are positive about the "coast people" living "beyond Yūra," but if the usual identification of the Wīsū/Īsū and Yūra is true, the road Bulghār–Wīsū–Yūra could not have formed a short cut to the northern sea. Abū Ḥāmid Gharnāṭi, ed. Ferrand, 118, quotes a curious story about the Bulghārs taking to Wīswā (*sic*) blades from Ādharbayjān. These weapons, unpolished, but well tempered and giving a good ring, were exchanged for beaver pelts (*qunduz*). On their part the Wīswā carried the blades to "a country adjacent (*qarīna*) to the region of Darkness (*al-Ẓulumāt*) and overlooking the Black Sea" and exchanged them for sable pelts.[2] The inhabitants of this maritime country "throw the blades into the sea[3] and God causes a fish as big as a mountain to come up to them. Being pursued by a still larger fish, it approaches the coast. Then men in boats begin to cut it up and fill their houses with its flesh and oil." Abū Ḥāmid may have expanded the similar story found in I. Faḍlān, f. 208a, or may himself have picked it up in Bulghār (in 530/1136). The point which interests us is that the Wīswā are said to be in direct communication with the coast-dwellers (Marvazi: *sāḥiliyyūn*), while the Yūra are not mentioned on the road to the sea (v.s.). This version may be taken as an indication that the coast-dwellers are to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the White Sea. In point of fact the *Ves* lived in a knot of fluvial communications and could easily reach this sea by the Onega.

F. Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, Engl. transl., 1911, II, 146, says that the coast-dwellers "may have been Samoyeds (on the Pechora), Karelians, Terfinnas and even Norwegians." In view of Abū Ḥāmid's text, the first eventuality should drop. It would be strange too if the Bulghārians intended their blades for the Norwegians, who could obtain such weapons nearer home.[4] Moreover, the Norwegians made only occasional raids into the White Sea. The remaining candidates are the Finns (Karelians), or more probably

[1] A bad mutilation of the report is found in Fakhr al-dīn Mubārak-shāh Marvarūdhī (A.D. 1206), ed. E. D. Ross, 39: "In the country of the Turks (*Turkistān*) there is a forest called 'the forest of Laura (read: *Yūra*)'. The inhabitants of it are wild and do not mix with anyone", after which the procedure of the dumb barter is described.

[2] The mention of the beavers and sables may serve as a clue for the identification of the two territories.

[3] A possible reference to some harpooning operation (?)

[4] Muslim geographers speak of the "Sulaymānian" swords of the Rūs, see *Ḥudūd*, 437, and the special study by A.Z. Validi, *Die Schwerter der Germanen*, *ZDMG*, 1936, 19–37. I take *sulaymānian* for a hint at *Qor'ān*, XXXIV, 10–12.

the Lapps,[1] whose traces Prof. Vasmer[2] has detected in the toponymy of the region stretching south of the White Sea down to Lake Onega.[3]

The new detail of our text is the Black Land (*arḍ saudā*) found beyond the coast-dwellers. This land has no parallels in Muslim geographical literature though it seems probable that this term has some connection with the "Black Sea" of Abū Ḥāmid, which he identifies further on, p. 91, with the Sea of Darkness (*al-baḥr al-aswad alladhī yu'raf bi baḥr al-ẓulumāt*), i.e. with the Arctic Ocean on which the ideas of Muslim scholars were vague.[4] Consequently the "Black Land" may be either a misunderstanding meant for the "Black Sea,"[5] or else, starting from the White Sea, we might take it for the Kola peninsula which until the recent discovery of its mineral wealth, was very sparsely populated.[6]

We come now to the last interesting point of §12 *quater*, namely, the statement that a voyager sailing in the direction of the North Pole reaches a point at which "the sun rotates visibly over the land for six months." Marvazi puts this statement almost hypothetically, and one might take it for an echo of some astronomic speculation. The anecdote, which Yāqūt quotes in his *Irshād al-arīb*, gives a personal turn to the story. The "Turkish" ambassador who boasted of having witnessed the phenomenon seems to have been the Bulghārian envoy who brought presents to Sultan Maḥmūd A.D. 1024. By an astonishing coincidence, in the *Taḥdīd* (composed in 1025) Bīrūnī refers to the coast-dwellers of the Sea of Varangians,[7] adding that "in summer time one of them on his hunting and raiding expedition sails so far into that sea that in the direction of the North Pole he reaches a spot where at the summer solstice the sun rotates above the horizon. He observes this, and boasts to his people, saying that he has reached a place which has no night in it."[8]

I am inclined to connect this statement (as well as our §12 *quater*) with the Bulgharian envoy's report (A.D. 1024), but, on the other

[1] Marquart, *o.c.*, 324–7, was inclined to identify the quarrelsome seafarers with some Lapp tribe.

[2] *Die ehemalige Ausbreitung der Lappen und Permier in Nordrussland*, *SBA*, hist.-phil. Klasse, 1936, 176-270.

[3] Alan S. C. Ross, *The Terfinnas and Beormas of the Ohthere*, Leeds, 1940, identifies Terfinnas with the Lapps of the Terskiy bereg (Kola peninsula) and Beormas (Bjarmar) with Karelians ("in all probability"). We know that Lapps were formerly found down to the immediate neighbourhood of Archangel Gulf.

[4] A. Z. Validi, *Nordvölker*, 46: "Freilich scheint Biruni keine klare Vorstellung von dem Unterschied zwischen Nord-und Ostsee einerseits und dem Weissen Meer anderseits gehabt zu haben."

[5] Marvazi's text is clear in opposing this Black *Land* to the voyage by *sea*.

[6] I thought at first of a hint at Spitzbergen (ancient *Svalbard*, which might have been misunderstood as **Svartbard*), but Icelandic annals speak of its discovery only under A.D. 1194. See R. Hennig, *Terrae incognitae*, II, pp. 377 and 379. Even the identity of Svalbard with Spitzbergen is not quite clear.

[7] I.e. the Baltic, confused with the White Sea.

[8] As the original is not available I am obliged to translate this passage from Prof. A. Z. Validi's German version. Cf. *Ḥudūd*, 181–2.

hand, I do not see how this report could be an echo of the circumnavigation of the North Cape[1] by Ohthere whose authentic communication submitted to King Alfred has no trace of any similar statement.

The originality of Biruni is that he seems to be the first Muslim writer[2] to use the name *Varank* (Waring, old Russian *Varegŭ*), and to call by it what appears to be the Baltic. But Biruni did not clearly distinguish between the latter and the White Sea, and in the process of compilation he apparently pieced together two different reports, whereas in Marvazi, etc., there is no trace of the Baltic.

The natural phenomenon referred to in Marvazi needs to be taken *cum grano salis.* As Marquart, *o.c.*, 311, points out, the idea that a year at the Pole consists of one day and one night, each of the duration of half-a-year belongs to Greek tradition. Prof. Neugebauer calculated for Marquart, *o.c.*, 331–4, the latitudes at which some real phenomena are observed which may have suggested the story found in Marvazi, etc.

	Latitude
A summer day of 24 hours	65·6°–66°
A winter night of 24 hours	66·6°–67·2°
A summer day of 40 days and a winter night of 40 days[3]	±68°

Roughly speaking, these latitudes coincide with the White Sea and the Kola peninsula, and were within reach of the coast-dwellers.

§13. With the paragraph on the MAJGHARI we return to the original Jayhānī tradition (v.s. §12). See I. Rusta, 142–3, *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §22, Gardīzī, 98, and Bakri, 45 (confused), cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 456, and my article *Une nouvelle source persane sur les Hongrois au X^e^ siècle,* in *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*, avril, 1937, pp. 305–12.

§14. The SLAVS. See I. Rusta, 143–5, *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §43, Gardīzi, 99–100, Bakri, 28–9.

Apart from Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 61–5, (cf. Marquart, *Osteuropäische Streifzüge*, 85–160), and Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb, (ed. Rosen, 33–42), other early authors writing in Arabic and Persian had a confused idea of the territory occupied by Slavs, as distinguished from the Rūs. In my commentary on the *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 427–32, I have summed up the evidence indicating that the principal centre of the Slavs was supposed to be in Moravia and in the basin of the middle Danube and its tributaries. Eastern Slavs are usually confused with the Rūs, I. Kh., 124, 154. The *Ḥ.-'Ā.* speaks of a group of Slavs among the Rūs (§44). I. Faḍlān, ff. 198a, 207b (?), calls the king of Bulghār "king of the Slavs," and elsewhere (Yāqūt, II, 440) speaks of Slavs

[1] A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, 46, "Bei dem Zitat aus dem *Taḥdīd* uber die Polarfahrt eines Warägers scheint es sich um eine Variante der Erzählung baltisch-nordischen Händler uber die kühne Reise . . . des aus dem Norden Norwegens stammenden Ottar zu handeln."

[2] But see *Ḥudūd*, 182.

[3] According to Abū Ḥāmid, quoted in Qazvini, *Āthār al-bilād*, 418, the country of Yūra possessed this characteristic.

as subjects of the Khazars. Marvazi (§10) and Gardīzi, 95, repeat the report on the [Eastern] Slavs counter-attacking the Pechenegs.

The naive indication that the Slavs burn their dead "because they are fire-worshippers" may explain why the Arab historians call the Rūs *al-majūs*. Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, VII, 354, calls the raiders who plundered Sevilla in 229/843: *al-Majūs alladhīna yuqālu lahum al-Rūs*. In a famous passage I. Faḍlān as an eye-witness describes the cremation of a Rūs, and the argument may have been reversed: "the Rūs were fire-worshipping Magians, for they burnt their dead;" cf. Minorsky, *Rūs*, in *E.I.* Gardīzi must have mis-read *nīrān* into *thīrān*, "bulls," for in his Persian book he calls the Slavs "cow-worshippers"!

The detail of the Slav king feeding on milk (*Ḥ.-'Ā.*), or more precisely on mare's milk (I. Rusta, Marvazi), is curious. As mare's milk[1] is a typically Turkish drink it is possible that our source refers to some dynasty of Turkish origin lording it over some Slavs.[2] The Avar domination in south-eastern Europe was crushed by Charlemagne between A.D. 791–805, and there are very few references to the Avars in Muslim literature, (v.s. p. 64). The detail interesting us may point to the early date of the original record, but it is possible that the local Slav aristocracy connected with the once dominant race carried on for some time the habits of the latter.

> In his translation of Orosius, King Alfred the Great (A.D. 848?–900) incorporated two additional geographical reports, one by the Norwegian Ohthere (v.s. p. 116) and the other by the Dane (?) Wulfstan describing his voyage to the Vistula (towards A.D. 890, cf. F. Nansen, *o.c.*, I, 104). According to Wulfstan the Vistula separates Weonodland ("the land of the Slavs") from Witland belonging to the Este. *Witland* corresponds to East Prussia and the *Este* are the ancient Aestii, i.e. probably the original Prussians (a Baltic people belonging to the same family as the present-day Lithuanians and Letts). Wulfstan proceeds: "The land of the Este is very large, and contains a great many forts, and there is a king in each fort, and it contains a great quantity of honey and fish; and the king and the wealthy classes drink mare's milk, but the poor and the slaves drink mead" (translated for me by Mrs. N. K. Chadwick). The inhabitants burnt their dead and divided the latter's property into prizes for which races were run by horsemen. The details of mare's milk, mead and the burning of the dead are parallel to our §14 on the Slavs. The detail of the races increases the impression that there may have been some "Turkish" elements among the Prussians.

The name of the Slav king seems to refer to the Moravian king Svetopluk I (870–94). In Arabic it was transcribed *Swyt-blk, of which the final element was confused with *mlk* (i.e. *malik*, "king") and finally eliminated. For the name of the second ruler Marvazi adds one more variant, *sh.rīḥ* (**sh.rīj* or *sh.rīkh*), but no better

[1] Especially the fermented preparation called *qumis*. Cf. Chap. IX, §7.

[2] Cf. L. Niederle in *Revue des Études Slaves*, II, 1922, 32.

explanation of it has yet been found than Chwolson's *shūbanj < županec (?), although the available variants begin with š-, which in Arabic would more likely represent an original š or č. On the name of the town see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 430.

The details on lutes are more complete in Marvazi. The distinguished musicologist Dr. H. Farmer, to whom I communicated my passage, very kindly gave me the following explanation: "The *malāwī* are the tuning pegs on any stringed instrument. Every string is fixed by a knot at one end of the instrument, generally by being tied through a hole or around a short peg or button. The string is then stretched over the surface of the instrument to the other extremity, where it is tied to a "tuning peg" (*malwā*). This 'tuning peg' the performer turns (*yalwī*) when he wishes to tune the string to its proper note. The *malwā* is always at the head of the instrument, and in lutes is either fixed directly (*mustawī*) into a hole in the head, or else the *malwā* goes into a hole in what we call a peg-box (*banjak*, *banjāk*, *bunjuq*). The lute of the Slavs, according to your MS., did not have a peg-box for the tuning-pegs. The latter were fixed directly and perpendicularly into the head of the instrument. (Dr. Farmer annexes a sketch of the two systems.) It would appear that the Slavonic lute was either the *balalaika* or the *goudok* because it did not have a round, vaulted sound-chest, but a flat (*musaṭṭaḥ*) one."

§15. The Rūs. For the first part see I. Rusta, 145–7, *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §44, Gardīzi, 100–1, Bakrī, 34–40. The story of the conversion of the Rūs to Christianity and then to Islam was copied by 'Aufi, whose text was edited and translated by Barthold in *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, IX, 1895 (1896), pp. 262–7.[1] 'Aufi translates Marvazi word for word, repeating the date "300" and the name of the Bulghār king in the form *B.ṭ.lṭū*. The date, 300/912, is wrong, the second and the third figures having been omitted in the text (cf. a similar mistake in the date of Zurqān's death, p. 128).[2]

The Russians were baptised A.D. 988 or 989 (378–9 H.), but Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 30, who knows the circumstances of the marriage of Vladimir to the sister of the emperors Basil and Constantine, speaks of the conversion *sub anno* 375/985–6, cf. Dimishqi, tr. Mehren, 378. As Marvazi quotes the name of Vladimir (older *Volodimer*),[3] he cannot refer to any other occasion, for there was

[1] Barthold's posthumous article, "Arab Sources on Russians" in *Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye* (ed. by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.), I, 1941, is inaccessible to me.

[2] *The Bahjat al-tawārīkh* of Shukrullāh (A.D. 1456) and the still later *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* of Muhammad Za'īm (A.D. 1578) change the date of the conversion respectively to 303 and 333, see Hammer, *Les origines russes*, 1827, 48, 65–6, as quoted by Barthold.

[3] In *bwladmīr*, the initial *b* stands for Arabic preposition *bi*, as in *bi-khāqān* which follows it. 'Aufi, however, took the whole complex for the name of the prince *Būlādhmīr*, possibly with a popular Persian etymology "prince of steel" (*pūlādh-mīr* "Stalin"). In I. Hajar's bibliographical dictionary *Durar al-kāmina*, Haydarabad, 1350, IV, 408, No. 1124, N. A. Poliak has found a curious name, *W.lādmr* (var. *W.lāwy*). The traditionalist W.lādmr b. 'Abdillāh al-Sayfī was a client of *Bāgtāmūr al-Sāqī al-'Azīzī, and lived 644–710/1246–1310. It is likely that *W.lādmr* corresponds to *Vladimir*. The name may have been used by the Turks on the assumption that *-dmr* is **dāmür* "iron." On the other hand, the close relations between Egypt and Qipchaq (i.e. the steppes of Southern Russia) make it quite possible that the family, like many others, was of Russian origin. The father's name, *'Abdullāh*, is a usual name among converts to Islam. It can even be a translation of "Theodore."

only one Vladimir in the fourth century H. Russian annals report that before his conversion to Byzantine orthodoxy Vladimir had made enquiries about the other faiths. His embassy, composed of ten men, visited the Muslim Bulghars on the Volga. Islam was finally rejected on the ground that "drinking wine was a joy of the Russians." As Barthold remarks, there would be nothing improbable in the admission that the envoys had also visited Khwārazm, from which the Bulghars themselves sought religious instruction.

Two details in our story must be considered:

(*a*) Some years must have elapsed before the "shrinking of livelihood," concomitant with Christian principles, could become manifest.

(*b*) For that the personal name Vladimir might have become a generic designation, several princes in succession must have borne it. Now after Saint Vladimir, who died A.D. 1015, the second important ruler of this name was Vladimir Monomach (born in 1053, prince of Pereyaslavl from 1097, prince of Kiev, 1113–25), the fame of whose exploits against the nomad Polovtsi[1] must have reached Khwārazm. The chronicles praise Monomach for his unimpeachable orthodoxy, but some minor princes or noblemen involved in feudal struggles might well have sought refuge as far away as Khwārazm,[2] and even have expressed a desire to embrace Islam.

In its general bearing the story is but a variation of Muslim criticism of Manichaeism and Christianity as exercising an effeminating influence on their votaries. *Mutatis mutandis*, it is even reminiscent of the refusal of the Turkish (Türgish) khaqan to accept Islam at the request of the caliph Hishām (105–25/724–43). The khaqan held a review of his army and said to the envoy: "These men have no barbers, no cobblers, no tailors; if they accept Islam and follow its prescriptions, whence will their food come?" *Yāqūt*, I, 839 (commented on by Marquart in *Festschrift f. F. Hirth*, 289–93). The story is already found in I. Faqīh.

The indication respecting the protective chains in Constantinople raises several interesting points. The term *khalīj* means both "a gulf" and "straits". I. Khurdādhbih, 103–4, uses it in the latter

[1] He had 83 major expeditions to his credit. He made peace 19 times with the Polovtsi with whom (down to 1093 alone) he had fought [illegible] battles.

[2] Cf. the story of Sviatopolk of Kiev, who after his defeat by his brother Yaroslav, A.D. 1019, fled to the Pechenegs, *The Novgorod Chronicle*, pp. 83–4; Engl. transl., Camden Third Series, 1914, p. 2.

sense while saying that at the western outlet of the *khalīj* (Dardanelles) there stands a tower "in which there is a chain preventing the Muslim ships from entering the *khalīj*." On the other hand, he says that at the (eastern) entrance (*fūha*) to the *khalīj* (Bosphorus) there is a town called **Musannāt*. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 317, is more explicit in stating that at this place "lie cultivated lands (*'amā'ir*) and the Byzantine town called *M.snāt*, which impedes the ships of the Rūs and others who come from the (Black) sea." Cf. also *Tanbīh*, 141 (where the Rūs are called *al-Kūdkāna*, read **al-Urmaniyya*). De Goeje (I. Kh., transl. 75) has surmised that the name **Musannāt* must be an Arabic term having the sense of "digue ou brise-lames" (cf. Lane: "a dam, a thing constructed, or raised to keep back the water of a torrent, a kind of wall built in the face of water . . ."), cf. also Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien*, 1891, p. 3 (without any further explanation). The probability of an Arabic etymology is increased by the existence of a place *al-Musannāt* in Egypt, *Murūj*, IV, 421, and *Yāqūt*, IV, 533. The "town" of which Mas'ūdī speaks could not by itself prevent Russian ships from entering the Bosphorus unless it possessed some kind of boom, but we have no record of "chains" in the Bosphorus.[1]

Marvazi's "chains" must belong to a different tradition. The Byzantines used a strong iron chain drawn between the tower of Galata and the citadel (Acropolis) to impede the access to the Golden Horn. The chain is first mentioned A.D. 717 at the occasion of the Arab invasion, see quotations in C. du Fresne du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, 1680, *Constantinopolis Christiana*, pp. 9–10.[2] According to the Russian Chronicle (Laurentian Codex, *Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey*, 1926, I, 30), when the Russians led an attack against Constantinople A.D. 907, the Greeks "locked the Gulf (замкоша соудъ) and closed up the city." Marvazi possibly refers to this event of which Jayhānī was a contemporary.

The raid of the Rūs on Barda'a in 332/943–4 was described by I. Miskawaih, *The Eclipse*, II, 62–78, and traces of some additional information are found in the *Ḥudūd*, §36, 30., but no other source prior to Marvazi has the reports on the conversion of the Rūs to Islam, and on the great migration of Turkish tribes (v.s. §5). Both clearly reflect a Khwārazmian tradition and for the time being we are obliged to attribute them to Marvazi himself.

§§17–20, based as they are on Greek medical authorities, differ from §§1–16. What the Greeks say on the Iranian nomads of their

[1] Mas'ūdī had little influence on the writers of Khorasan. The interpretation of *M.s.nāh* as "Mysia," Seippel, p. xxx, is absolutely impossible. If we insist on a Greek origin for the name, we might perhaps envisage *Mesemvria*. This town lay far from the Bosphorus, but it is mentioned by Const. Porph., *De adm. imp.*, Ch. 9, as the terminus of the difficult sea voyage of the Russians on the way to Constantinople.

[2] Under Manuel Comnenus (A.D. 1143–80) a second chain was drawn between two towers on the European and Asiatic side, against the aggressors coming from the Marmara sea.

time is applied to the Turks. Byzantine authors were responsible for the identification of the Turks with their predecessors in the steppe belt. Menander Protector, who collected the reports of Byzantine embassies to various eastern peoples, says (frag. 19) that the Turks were formerly called Saka (*τῶν Τούρκων, τῶν Σακῶν καλουμένων πάλαι*). On the Iranian side the Book of Kings (*Khwatāy-nāmak*) similarly confused the descendants of Tūr (Turanians) with Turks, and this view was consecrated by Firdausi. I. Faqīh, 7, includes in Scythia (*Isqūtiya*): Armenia, Khorasan, the Turks and Khazars, and Marvazi simply substitutes "Turks" to the "Scythians" of the Greek authors.[1] §§17–20 are a fair example of Marvazi's favourite theories on the influence of the climate which he develops with regard to the "Turks" in the north, and to the "Ethiopians" and other southern peoples, in his chapters XIII and XV. As the quotations indicate, these views are of direct Greek origin and are borrowed from Hippocrates's treatise *Περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων*, see *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, ed. E. Littré, 1840, II, at the places indicated below.[2]

§17. Cf. Littré, II, 67: on *Σαυραμάται* living near the Maeotis.

§18. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 73–7: Scythians are fat and their skin is hairless. The women are sterile: "la matrice ne peut plus saisir la liqueur séminale, car l'écoulement menstruel, loin de s'opérer avec la régularité nécessaire est peu abondante et séparée par de longs intervalles, et l'orifice de l'utérus, fermé par la graisse, n'admet pas la semence." The handmaids who do the work conceive easily, etc. An echo of these theories is also found in I. Faqīh, 6, according to whom the Turks have few children. Gardīzī, 81, and the *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, 105, quote legends to explain why Turks have little hair on their bodies (*tang-mū'ī*).

§19. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 77: on the morbid effeminacy of some Scythians called *ἀνανδριεῖς*. Cf. Herodotus, I, 105: *ἐναρέες*. Marvazi admits that such men are found in "some Turkish lands," but insists on the vigour of the nomads. The passage on "Ionians and Turks," who owe allegiance to nobody, is a misunderstanding, perhaps an intentional one, for the Greek original was too unpalatable for Marvazi's masters: "Les Européens sont plus belliqueux . . . car ils ne sont pas, comme les Asiatiques, gouvernés par les rois. . . . Gouvernés par leurs propres lois, sentant que les dangers qu'ils courent, ils les courent dans leurs propres intérêts, ils les acceptent volontiers . . . car le prix de la victoire est pour eux (*τὰ γὰρ ἀριστεῖα τῆς νίκης αὐτοὶ φέρονται*). C'est ainsi que les lois ne contribuent pas peu a créer le courage." A sublime idea, even for our own times!

[1] Just as the older Russian translation of Joseph Flavius substitutes "Pechenegs" for "Scythians," Vsevolod Miller, *Osetinskiye et'udï*, III, 40.

[2] In the new edition *Corpus medicorum graecorum*, I/1: Hippocratis opera, Vol. I/1, ed. Heiberg, 1927, pp. 56–78 (especially pp. 71–8).

§20. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 67: in Hippocrates, the passage on warlike women with one breast (μαζόν) belongs to the description of Sauromatae (v.s. §17), the term "Amazons" being found only in a gloss. Some additional reference to Amazons is found in Chap. XVII, f. 48*a*. Their warlike behaviour is compared with what 'Ā'isha did in "the battle of the Camel" and what some Turkish women and Byzantine girls do.

On the whole Marvazi simply follows the Greeks and shows less critical acumen than Avicenna, who in his *Canon* studies the same problem of climatic conditions. Avicenna too states that the periods of the females living in northern countries are defective "owing to constriction of the channels and the absence of the stimulus to . . . relaxation of the channels. Some assert that this makes the women sterile. . . . But this is contrary to experience, at any rate as regards the Germans (*var.* Turks, Parthians, etc.). My opinion is that the great amount of innate heat makes up for the absence of the stimulus to flow. Abortion, it is said, is rare among women in those climates, and this further supports the opinion that their vitality is great. . . . Female slaves are liable to develop ascites and hydrouterus; but these also pass away as they grow old." See O. Cameron, *A Treatise on the Canon . . . of Avicenna*, London, 1930, p. 207.

The original source of Marvazi's quotations having been ascertained, it is more difficult to trace the part in them which goes back to Galen. In fact the latter commented on Hippocrates's Περὶ ἀέρων, but (*a*) of this commentary only a Latin translation has survived, and (*b*) this Latin text stops short of the paragraphs in which Hippocrates describes the Scythians, see *Opera Hippocratis Coi et Galeni Pergameni*, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1679, VI, 201–12.

Another problem is to identify the Arabic translation from which Marvazi borrowed his quotations. It will be better reserved till the time when the whole of the *Tabā'i' al-ḥayawān* has been studied and edited. The famous Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq says in the Bibliography of his translations that he rendered Hippocrates's Περὶ ἀέρων (*kitāb al-hawā wal-mā' wal-masākin*) into Syriac, adding to it a short commentary of his own, but that the work remained unfinished. He also translated the original book into Arabic, while his nephew, Ḥubaysh, translated the explanations of Galen, see Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain b. Isḥāq*, in *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XVII, No. 2, 1925, p. 25 (point 99). Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 119–29, sums up the contents of the works of Hippocrates: *Kitāb fil-ahwiya wal-azmina wal-miyāh wal-amṣār* (p. 119–20) and *Kitāb fil-ahwiya wal-buldān* (pp. 120–9); but leaves out the part on Sauromatae, etc. He adds that Galen composed a running commentary on the book (*faṣl faṣl wa ma'nā ma'nā*). Even the rendering of the title suggests that Ya'qūbī used some translation other than that of Ḥunayn. A similar difference with regard to the *Prognostikon* has been indicated

by M. Klamroth, *Ueber die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī*, in *ZDMG*, 40, 1886, p. 202. The same is apparently true for Marvazi.

CHAPTER XII

INDIA

The following reference books are quoted in this section by the names of the authors: L. D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, 1913; J. Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu mythology and religion*, 1879; Nundo Lal De, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 1927; Reinaud, *Mémoire géographique historique et scientifique sur l'Inde antérieurement au milieu du XIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne, d'après les écrivains arabes, persans et chinois*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions*, XVIII/2, 1849, 1–399 and 565–6 (still a remarkable achievement). [O. Spies, *An Arab account of India in the 14th Century*, Stuttgart, 1936 (a translation of the compilative account from the *Masālik al-abṣār* by 'Omari) belongs to a much later period.]

The arrangement of this chapter is clearer than that of the others.

A. Introduction (§1), followed by an enumeration of the "seven" castes (§§2–8) and an eulogy of Indian sciences, crafts, etc. (§§9–16).

B. Religions. The account takes up the major part of the chapter. It deals with individual Indian creeds and sects (§§17–42) and concludes with an inadequate reference to Buddhism (§43).

C. Politico-geographical conditions. This part begins with the usual enumeration of Indian kings and their customs (§§44–62), and ends with some desultory notes on the northern part of India (Panjab) (§§63–66).

A. Castes

§§2–8. Biruni, 49–51 (I, 101–4, and II, 293) gives a very clear description of the four castes, after which he speaks of the functional low castes (*antaz*<**antyaja*) and finally of the outcaste Hādī (*Hāḍī*), Dūm (*Doma*), Candala and *Badhatau*.[1] In this, he follows the Rig-Veda, the laws of Manu and other authoritative sources, cf. Barnett, *o.c.*, 132–5.

His predecessor, from whom most of the authors including Marvazi derived their data, knows the principal categories but, being limited to his personal observations and enquiries, commits some errors in his classification of the castes and his interpretation of the facts. Marvazi's data on the castes correspond almost word for word with the statements found in Ibn Khurdādhbih, 71, but, as Marvazi gives more details in the style of the original (prohibition of intermarriages, Brahmans infatuated with candala girls), it would seem that he had at his disposal a more complete version of the original. More probably he obtained these additional details through the medium of Jayhānī. In any case, the primary report,

[1] Still unexplained. Possibly *vadhya*, "a criminal," in Arabic **badhyū* (with final *u* instead of *a*, like in *vaṭa*>*baru*).

traces of which survive in the available abridgment of I. Kh.'s book (i.e. in *BGA*, VI, 71), must have been drawn up before A.D. 850. The seven castes enumerated are: kings, brahmans, kshatriya, vaiśya, śudra, caṇḍala and ḍomba. In de Goeje's opinion, *BGA*, VII, tr. 52, the king's caste is only a different spelling of kshatriya and is based on the misunderstanding of Muslim authors who were loath to believe that the king could belong to any but the highest category. However, the spelling, with the conspicuous group of *shīn-alif* in the beginning of *al-shākthariya*, is very different from *al-k.stariya*, etc., **kshatriya*. It is possible then that the name of the king's caste is connected with the royal title *chakravarti*, as H. W. Bailey has suggested to me.[1] As in I. Kh., the śudra come before the vaiśya. Another strange fact is that Brahmans are given an inferior status to *al-Sumaniya*. The term, similarly spelt in Muṭahhar, 19 (a quotation from Jayhānī) and in the *Fihrist*, 345 (a quotation from *Akhbār Khorāsān*) refers to Buddhists. In Muslim literature the latter are regularly called *shaman* (from *śramana*, "anchorite, a devotee"), cf. Bīrūnī, 184 (tr. II, 169), and **suman* may be simply a mis-spelling in which the *ḍamma* represents the original three dots of the *shīn*. However, the "Buddhists" are out of place in the systems of castes, and it is difficult to imagine that in this particular passage the term (*suman/shaman*) stands in its original connotation of *śramana*. The passage is apparently an interpolation based on a misunderstanding.

§§9–16. As all this section runs parallel to Gardīzī, who quotes Jayhānī's *Tawārīkh* (?) as his source, we must conclude that Jayhānī is the immediate source of Marvazi also. But again, we can go back still farther. The first of the paragraphs on Indian crafts corresponds to I. Kh., 71–2, and apparently belongs to the aforesaid primary report (*circa* A.D. 800). The same data, though much more abridged, are found in Muṭahhar, IV, 10 (tr. 9). Shahristānī, II, 447, who remoulds his source, quotes the achievements of the Indians in astronomy, medicine, telepathy and control of natural phenomena (rain) in his special subdivision of Indian creeds, entitled *aṣḥāb al-fikra wal-wahm*, the latter being confused with the rishis.

§10. As a parallel to *sīmābandāt*, Gardizi, §3, has *sh.māt.nt*. The meaning of this term is clear, but the reading is unknown. Perhaps: *sīmā* ("face, features") + *band*, in the sense of "producing appearances, phantasmagoria," or *sīmiyā* ("one of the magic arts") + *band*. The printed text of Muṭahhar, IV, 10, substitutes: *nayranjāt*, "magic." [The reading *sīmāband* is unexpectedly confirmed by Sogdian *sym'βnt*, see Henning, *Sogdica*, 1940, pp. 60-61].

§16. Mount *al-Dāb.r* (?) is unknown, but the country in which it

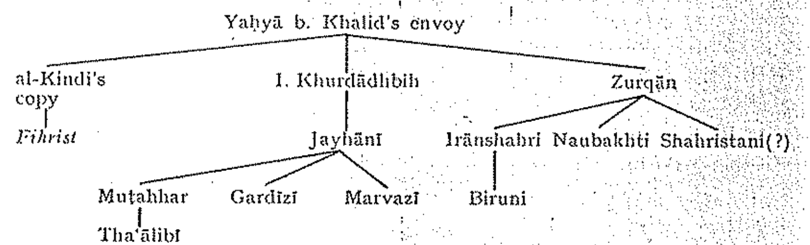
[1] **Shākbartī* would be a haplology of *Shāk(ra)bartī*, with a compensatory lengthening of the vowel. In the still more compressed form the term got into the story of Sindbad the Sailor where it is said the *Shākiriya* are the most noble of Indian races and are followed by the Brahmans who never drink wine, *Alf layla*, night 541, cf. E. W. Lane's translation (Dent, 1901), IV, 119. On the true *shākirī*, v.s. p. 94.

lies is Assam, for, as a parallel to *Qāmūr*, Gardizi, §5, gives *Kāmrūt*, i.e. *Kāmarūpa, v.i. §52. Gardizi speaks only of the "peri-like" proficiency of the inhabitants in spells. Cf. Juvayni, I, 85, on *parī-dārī*.

B. Religions

In the light of Marvazi and Gardīzī, who are studied here for the first time, I have come to the conclusion that most of the earlier authors on Indian religions made an extensive use of one primary report which I take as having been compiled *circa* A.D. 800, at the request of the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. Khālid. The original has not come down to us nor are we sure of the name of its author, but its contents can now be restored from the available quotations, such as are found in our §§17–42. This source is not expected to contain any revelations for Indianists and its literary standards can bear no comparison with the philosophic attitude of an Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī, but it is some two centuries older than Biruni and its vivid descriptions reveal in the author a great clarity of vision. Free from cant, the observer wished only to see and to report, not to judge and to expatiate upon his own superiority.

It will be easier to follow our conclusion if we at once present the tentative scheme of the connections between our sources, as resulting from our analysis of them:



(A) Though there were numerous borrowers from the original source before al-Nadīm (A.D. 988), we must begin our study with his *Fihrist* as giving us a clue to the problem. His text, 346–9 (translated by Ferrand with some omissions, *Relations*, 118–29) is composite and consists of the following parts:

(1) A passage on Buddhists (al-S.maniya) based on the work of some Khorasanian author who compiled a chronicle of his province (*akhbār Khorāsān fil-qadīm wa ma ālat ilayhi fil-ḥadīth*), 345, lines 12–17.

(2) The original chapter on India and China begins with a reference to a fragment (*juz'*) of some work copied in his own hand by the famous philosopher Ya'qūb b. Isḥaq al-Kindī in 249/863. The compiler (or editor ?) of the work (*kātibuhu*) says in the beginning of the fragment that, according to some

theologians (*mutakallimīn*),[1] the Barmakid Yaḥyā b. Khālid sent a man to India "to collect the medicinal plants found in India and to draw up a report on Indian religions, and he wrote the present book for him (*fa kataba lahu hādhā al-kitāb*),"[2] p. 345, lines 17–28.

(3) This introduction is followed by a long and confused paragraph on Indian temples (v.i. §54), p. 346, l. 1, p. 347, l. 13. The sequence of paragraphs (2) and (3) might suggest that (3) begins a quotation from Yaḥyā's envoy, but a close analysis of (3) shows that a part of it at least is based on the report of the well-known Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil, v.i. §54. This unreliable globe-trotter (al-Nadīm: *jawwāla*) claimed to have travelled far and wide in Indo-China and India, see Yāqūt, III, 445–57. Towards the middle of the paragraph stand the words "Abū Dulaf told me," which introduce a correction of a report for which Abū Dulaf himself seems to be responsible (viz. on a "House of Gold" of Zamīn Dāvar, cf. Yāqūt, III, 457). As Abū Dulaf is supposed to have accompanied an embassy from Bukhara to northern China, about 331/941, and as al-Nadīm wrote in A.D. 988, their personal contact is somewhat doubtful on chronological grounds. The words *qāla lī Abū Dulaf* may have been incorporated by al-Nadīm from some written source (v.s. p. 8, on the Introduction of Abū Dulaf's Risālas). On the other hand, al-Nadīm certainly met the authority whom he quotes towards the end of the paragraph, namely, the monk whom the Nestorian Catholicos had sent to China and who after a seven years' absence returned in 377/987.

(4) A paragraph on Buddha, with an indication that the quotation is from a book "different from that copied by al-Kindi," p. 347, ll. 14–27.

(5) After a new indication: "from (the book) copied by al-Kindi" (*min khaṭṭ al-Kindī*),[3] there follows, p. 349, l. 29–p. 349, l. 12, the long and important enumeration of individual sects coinciding with that of Muṭahhar, Gardīzi, Marvazi and Shahristānī.

Passage (5) is particularly important as providing a clue to the origin of the traditional information on Indian religions. It is likely that Yaḥyā b. Khālid sent his envoy to India at the time when he was the *de facto* ruler of the caliphate A.D. 786–803, see Barthold, *Barmakids* in *E.I.*, and we can tentatively date the original report at *circa* A.D. 800.

[1] Is the reference to Zurqān?

[2] Ferrand translates: "L'envoyé lui ecrivit cette lettre.". Rather: "lui écrivit le livre que voici."

[3] The editor rightly states II, 182, that this indication refers to what follows ("gehört zum Folgenden"). The indication is left out in Ferrand's translation.

(B) The other chain of borrowers begins with I. Khurdādhbih and Jayhānī. Speaking of the different classes of Indian religions, Gardīzi (f. 199b) formally acknowledges his authority: "Thus speaks 'Abdullāh (*sic*) Jayhānī: the Hindus have 99 sects which come under 42 categories, and their basis is fourfold, as I shall explain," after which without transition comes the description of the individual sects (v.i. 132). We can ascend even beyond Jayhānī. The abridgement of I. Kh.'s work, *BGA*, VI, 71, has: "The Indian creeds are 42, some of which accept the Creator . . . and the prophets, some reject the prophets, and some others reject everything." In I. Kh. this statement is inserted between the enumeration of the castes and the praise of Indian crafts, all of them forming one block of information, recognisable in the later authors, Gardīzi, Marvazi and partly Shahristānī. As all of these, after the general classification of Indian religions (v.i. §17), enumerate the same individual sects, it seems almost certain that this set of facts existed in Kh.'s original work. Jayhānī may have been acquainted with the primary report, but more probably, as suggested by Muqaddasi, 271) he got his facts from I. Kh. (v.s. p. 6). Like his contemporary al-Kindi, I. Kh. was living in Baghdad and could easily have secured a copy of the primary report which Yaḥyā b. Khālid's envoy brought to the capital some fifty years before.

The authors who owed their knowledge of the primary report to Jayhānī, wrote chiefly in the eastern part of Iran:

(α) The earliest in date is Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir Maqdisi in his *Kitāb al-bad'*, ed. Huart, IV, 9–19. At the end of his chapter on India he quotes a *Kitāb al-Masālik*. The editor, C. Huart, expressed the view, IV, 17, that this is likely to be the work of Jayhānī, rather than of I. Kh., whose text in *BGA*, VI, does not contain this passage. My late teacher and colleague was on the right track, though he overlooked the fact that *BGA*, VI, is only an abridgment of the original I. Kh.[1]

(β) A large extract is found in the unpublished part of Gardīzi's *Zayn al-akhbār*. The specific importance of this part of Gardīzi's work for comparative purposes has only now become apparent. Gardīzi specifically names Jayhānī as his source, and this acknowledgment is welcome.

(γ) The next in chronological order is Marvazi. His selection is very close to that of Gardīzī, but he used the Arabic original of Jayhānī independently of Gardīzi. As Gardīzi's text is in a notoriously bad state, Marvazi enables us to restore some of his readings.

[1] The beginning of Muṭahhar's report on India (namely, IV, 9–12) was reproduced in A. M. Ḥusayn Tha'ālibī's *Ghurar al-akhbār*. Tha'ālibi quotes Muṭahhar and this detail rendered possible the identification of the latter's work. The passage is not in the part of the *Ghurar* edited by Zotenberg, but Reinaud, 294, gives its contents and Huart has collated the MSS.

(C) Bīrūnī, *India*, I, 4, explains the circumstances under which he was moved to write his book as follows: "Everything which exists on this subject (i.e. on the religions and doctrines of the Hindus) in our literature is second-hand information which one person has copied from another, a farrago of materials never sifted by the sieve of critical examination. Of all the authors of this class, I know only one who has proposed to himself to give a simple and exact report on the subject *sine ira ac studio*, viz. Abul-'Abbās al-Īrānshahri. He himself did not believe in any of the then existing religions but was the sole believer in a religion invented by himself, which he tried to propagate." He has given a good account of the Jews and Christians, "but when he came to speak of the Hindus and the Buddhists, his arrow missed the mark, and in the latter part he went astray through hitting upon the book of Zurqān, the contents of which he incorporated in his own work. That, however, which he has not taken from Zurqān, he has himself heard from common people among the Hindus and Buddhists."

The author whom Biruni unceremoniously calls ZURQĀN appears to be one of the earliest transmitters of the report on India. My learned and resourceful friend, S. H. Taqizadeh, has put me on the track of several passages referring to this author. Speaking of the doctrines of the Qarmatians, Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 395, mentions Zurqān among the authors who wrote controversial books to refute their opponents (*kitāban min al-maqālāt wa ghayrihā min al-radd 'alā al-mukhālifīn*), and says that he was a retainer (*ghulām*) of the well-known Mu'tazilite theologian Naẓẓām (see *E.I.*). Sam'ānī, 530b (under al-Musammi'ī), and Yāqūt who copies him, IV, 523 (under al-Musāmi'a),[1] say that Muḥammad b. Shaddād b. 'Īsā Abū-Ya'lī, known as Zurqān, was a Mu'tazilite teacher of no great talent, for his lectures were not taken down by his pupils. He was a native of the Sāmi'a ward in Baṣra and died in Baghdād in 298 or 299/910–2. This date is an obvious mistake, for Zurqān's patron Naẓẓām died *circa* 220–30/835–45. Yāqūt drops the second figure, changing the date into 208–9/823–4, but this correction suggests that Z. predeceased N. by a good number of years, whereas it is known that N. died in the full vigour of his faculties. In Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā's *Kitāb al-munya wal-amal*, ed. T. W. Arnold, Leipzig, 1902, 44–5, S. H. Taqizadeh has found an indication that Zurqān took part in a debate in the presence of the caliph Wāthiq, who ruled 227–32/842–7. Consequently the date of Zurqān's death is later than 208, while it must be earlier than 298. The usual confusion in Arabic numbers is between "90" and "70," but even 278 seems too late for Zurqān. A date like 248 or 258 would be much more probable. Zurqān, as appears from his biographic record, was not a traveller, but only a mediocre theologian, and he could quote on India only someone else's data.

There does not seem to survive any direct vestige of Zurqān's book, but in the passage on the "Prayāga tree," Biruni, 98 (tr. I, 200)

[1] Rāzī wrote two books to refute the anti-materialistic theories of *al-Musammi'ī al-mutakallim* (=Zurqān), *Fihrist*, 300–1, cf. Bīrūnī, *Fihrist kutub al-Rāzī*, No. 58.

says that "it stands at the confluence of the Jamna and Ganges, and near it the Hindus chastise themselves with punishments which are described in the books of controversies (*kutub al-maqālāt*)." The reference to *maqālāt* apparently has in view Zurqān, which makes it probable that this worthy's book contained the same details from the original report that are reproduced (with very slight differences) in Naubakhti (v.i.), Muṭahhar, p. 19, Gardīzī, §36, Marvazi, §41, and even the books of marvels.[1]

As appears from Biruni's passage ("the then existing religion") ĪRĀNSHAHRI must have lived a considerable time before him. In fact, Nāṣir-i Khusrau, *Zād al-musāfirīn*, ed. Berlin, 1923, 72, 98, 102–3, refers to him as being the "predecessor and teacher" (*muqaddam-va-ustād*) of the famous Muḥammad b. Zakariyā Rāzī.[2] Nāṣir-i Khusrau accuses Rāzī of having remoulded, in an openly materialistic spirit, the theories which Īrānshahri had developed with moderation in his *Kitāb-i Jalīl* and *Kitāb-i athīr*. As according to Biruni, *Fihrist kutub al-Rāzī*, ed. Kraus, 1936, 4–6, Rāzī was born in 251/865 and died in 313/925, we have to place Īrānshahri considerably before 300/912.

Biruni quotes from Īrānshahri a report on Mount Meru according to the Buddhist creed, *India*, 124 and 166, and also some data on Iranian and Armenian traditions, *Chronology*, 222, 225 (tr. 208, 211). The item on Meru is not found in the other books of our category, perhaps by chance, and perhaps because it belonged to Īrānshahri's own contributions (v.s. Biruni).

Another author belonging to Zurqān's tradition seems to be Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Mūsā NAUBAKHTĪ (d. *circa* 300–310/912–922).[3] Of his book, *Kitāb al-ārā wal-diyānāt*, only some quotations have survived, and among them two passages on Indian religions,[4] the one (abridged and confused) on the adepts of Vasudeva and the other on the austerities practised by Indians. The latter is very similar to Muṭahhar's arrangement.

SHAHRISTĀNĪ's chapter on India, 445–55, may be also filiated to Zurqān, for it is likely that a writer on purely religious matter should have looked for information in the *maqālāt* rather than in a geographical work.[5] If so, Zurqān contained much the same stuff as found

[1] We cannot say whether Biruni knew these tales from Zurqān's book or through the intermediary of Īrānshahri. In any case he did not stoop to reproduce the purely external facts collected by the keen-eyed but simple minded author of the original report.

[2] P. Kraus, *Rāzī*, in *E.I.*, is inclined to identify Īrānshahri with the "Balkhi," who is said to have been Rāzī's teacher of philosophy, *Fihrist*, 299, but S. H. Taqizadeh points to the *Fihrist*, 300–1, where two Balkhis are mentioned: Abul-Qāsim and Suhayl, whom Rāzī criticised in his books.

[3] Cf. 'Abbās Eghbāl *Khānadān-i Naubakhtī*, Tehran, 1311/1933, p. 137.

[4] See Ibn Jauzī, *Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo, 1340, pp. 69 and 74, reprinted by H. Ritter in his edition of *Firaq al-Shī'a*, attributed to Naubakhti, Istanbul, 1931, pp. KJ and KD.

[5] Sachau in his translation of Biruni, II, 251, says that "the origin of (Shahristānī's) chapters on Indian subjects . . . is not known," and that he did not make use of Biruni. Reinaud, in his famous *Mémoire*, 291, states that Shahristānī "a mis plusieurs fois a contribution le *Fihrist*." We now know that the question must be treated as between a much larger circle of writers exploiting the same original source.

in Muṭahhar, Gardīzi, Marvazi, etc. Shahristāni, 454, has one additional item on the *B.rks.hikiya*, i.e. **vṛkṣa-bhaktiya*, "worshippers of the trees" (already guessed by Reinaud, 296). The adepts of this sect chose one of the tallest and most luxuriant trees growing in the mountains, hollowed out in it a niche for their idol and then prostrated themselves before the tree and circumambulated it. These details, explained in a clumsy and naive style, undoubtedly belong to the original source. The item is apparently one of the minor details neglected by the other compilers.

§17. Above (v.s. p. 127) we have quoted the three categories into which I. Kh. divides the Indian creeds. Muṭahhar's scheme is more elaborate but is probably faithful to the original. He says that there are in India 900 creeds; of these 99 are known and can be reduced to 42, the latter falling into 4 categories, and two classes, namely: Buddhists (*sumaniya*, as in Marvazi), who deprive God of attributes (*mu'aṭṭila*),[1] and Brahmans. The latter are of three classes (the text is disturbed!). It is said in conclusion, p. 18: "All those who do not believe in apostolate (*risāla*)[2] and the Beyond (*al-ākhira*) do believe in recompense and punishment through transmigration (*intiqāl*) and metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*)." The same basis of classification is still recognisable in Gardīzi (with some misunderstandings) and in Marvazi.

Gardīzī.	Marvazī.
1. Those who recognise the Creator, apostles and Retribution and who are Brahmans.	Those who recognise the Creator and apostles.
2. Those who repudiate apostles (namely, the Shamanis = Buddhists).	Those who recognise the Creator but not apostles.
3. Those who recognise the Creator and believe in the eternity of Paradise and Hell.	Those who reject the Creator and apostles.
4. Those who believe that Retribution consists in transmigration.	Those who reject everything excepting Retribution (Shamanis). Some (?) who say that Retribution consists in rebirth.

Shahristānī's personal views throw considerable confusion into the scheme. Here are briefly his new headings:

1. Brahmans, namely:
   (*a*) Buddhists (*aṣḥāb al-bidada*).
   (*b*) Adherents of psychical power (*al-fikra wal-wahm*), i.e. the rishis (?).
   (*c*) Believers in transmigration.

[1] Such is the technical meaning of the term, but practically it denotes "atheists."
[2] On the translation of the term *rasūl* by "apostle" (v.s. p. 40.)

2. Adherents of spiritual bodies (*aṣḥab al-rūḥāniyāt*).
3. Worshippers of heavenly bodies (*aṣḥāb al-hayākil al-samāwiya*).
4. Idolaters.
5. Philosophers.

Shahristani further states that the Brahmans reject "apostles" while they recognise a Builder (*ṣāni'*) of the Universe. Category (2) is said to include those who believe in "spiritual intermediaries" and thus coincides with the division recognising "apostles" in I. Kh., Gardizi and Marvazi. Under category (3) it is said that of all the heavenly bodies only the Sun and the Moon have adepts. Category (4) contains an admission that, "after all," the previous categories are also idolaters. Finally the philosophers (5) are said to have received their lights from a pupil of Pythagoras called Qalānūs, etc. Under Shahristānī's pen the data of the original lose much of their liveliness and benefit little by being pushed into new pigeon-holes.

In the process of abridgment and readaptation, the "classes" of the original source have become disturbed in our text, e.g., one does not see the reason why §30 should stand outside the class of those who recognise "apostles," etc. Therefore in the following table of concordances we speak of "divisions" rather than of "classes." Marvazi and Gardizi are quoted in it after the §§ into which I have divided their text. The references to Muṭahhar, Shahristāni and *al-Fihrist* are to the pages of the printed editions, with indications (in brackets) of the order in which the items occur. The two passages of Naubakhti are similarly quoted after the pages in Ibn Jauzi and the order of single items. See Table on p. 132.

Division A

The author of the original report did not quite realise the status of Indian gods and their avatars. To him they appeared as "prophets and apostles" of some supreme divinity (v.s. p. 40) or as "angels." Similar ideas are still discernible in Biruni. In *India*, 200, he says that when the earth enters upon a period of ruin, Providence (*mudabbir*), in order to abate the evil, "sends" (*yursilu*) someone, such as Vāsudeva (Krishna). In the *Jawāhir*, 237, Biruni calls Mahādeva "chief of the angels."

§19. These are adepts of Vāsudeva, i.e. Vishnu, as confirmed by the latter's carrier the divine kite Garuḍa (Marvazi: *'Anqā*, Gardīzī: *Sīmurgh*). His four emblems are supposed to be the lotus-flower, shell-trumpet (*śankha*), mace and chakra-disc, see Barnett, 30. Only the latter has been recognised by the author whose Arabic transcription is **shakr* (Muṭahhar: *shakra*). Both in Gardīzī and Marvazi marginal notes explain "chakra" as *archud* (?), apparently in some Indian vernacular. The noose seems to be the arm called in Sanskrit *pāśa* (a special attribute of Yama, Dowson, 374). Gardīzī describes Vasudeva's twelve heads and says that he ordered his adepts to worship fire and to wear the guṇa thread (**junū*; for

Marvazi	Gardīzī	Muṭahhar	Shahristānī	Naubakhti	al-Nadim
Division A : God and apostles				69(1)	
19	8	13 (1)	450 (IIa)	69 (2)	
20	9	13 (2)	450 (IIa)		
21	10	14 (3)	451 (IIc)	74 (11)?	
22	11	14 (4)			
23		14 (5)			
Division B : No apostles (?)					
24	12		445 (I)		
25	13				
26	14	14 (6)			
27	15	15 (7)	449 (Ib)		348 (e)
28	16				349 (f)
29	17	16 (14)			349 (g)
30	18		451 (IId)		349 (h)
Division C : Idols					
		18 (29)			
31	19	15 (8)	453 (IVa)		347–8 (a)
			454 (IVb)		
32	20			p. 74	
33	21	15 (9)	454 (IVc)		
34	22	15 (10)	454 (IVd)	(6)	
35	23	16 (11)	455 (IVe)		
36	24	16 (13)	452 (IIIb)		348 (c)
37	25	16 (12)	452 (IIIa)		348 (b)
Division D : Acts of austerity					
38	26				
39					
40	27				
	28				
	29				
	30				
41a	31a	17 (20)		(7)	
	31b	17 (18)		(2)	
	31c				
	32	17 (19)		(4)	
	33	16 (16)		(5)	
		17 (17)		(3)	
	34	16 (15)		(1)	
41b	35	17 (21)		(8)	348 (d)
42a		17 (22)		(9)	
42b		17 (23)		(11)	
42c	36	18 (24)			
		18 (25)		(12)	
		18 (26)			
55	38	18 (27)		(13)[1]	
Division E : Buddhists					
43		19 (30)	446 (Ia)		[345, 347]
		Division F : Metempsychosis 18 (28)			

[1] Naubakhti adds (10): those who drown themselves.

final *u*, cf. Biruni, *baru* for *vaṭa*, v.i. §42), and not to cross the Ganges. These commandments are also in Shahristānī.

§§20 and 21. The two sects Mahā-deviya and Kābāliya worshipped the same god Śiva, under two different aspects. Śiva is directly named in §21, while in §20 he is described by his title of Mahā-deva, mis-spelt in Muṭahhar and Shahristānī. In both cases his attributes, a garland of skulls and a small hand-drum (*ḍamaru*), are the same, cf. Barnett, 26. The other paraphernalia (including the trident) are distributed between the two divisions. The identity of the god would have been easily established through some literary source, but the original traveller prefers to describe separately the practices of the two sub-sects just as he apparently witnessed them. Gardīzī has much more on the Mahā-deviya and their elects whom he calls *bh.rāra* (?).

The term Kābāliya (already recognised in Haarbrucker, II, 365) corresponds to Ssk. *kāpālika*, an adjective derived from *kapāla*, "a skull." The reference is to human skulls being one of Śiva's attributes. Some of the other characteristics of Śiva are that he is smeared with the ashes of burnt cow-dung and that his hair is braided up in a conical pile, Barnett, 26. The latter was possibly mistaken by the Muslim investigator for "a red felt cap." On the Śivaite veneration of the linga, cf. Barnett, 27. Both Gardīzī and Marvazi spell *lind*, but Gardīzī explains that the pronunciation is *ling*.

§§22 and 23 refer to Rāma and his rival Rāvana, the demon king of the island Laṅkā.

Gardīzī has much more on the adepts of Rāma whom he places "in *d.kshāy.t* which is the North," in the town of Bāznāy.n. Something is wrong either with the location or with the interpretation of the term which apparently is **dakshāpat* (*dakṣinā-patha*), meaning "the southern region" (H. W. Bailey). Bāznāyin is unknown, unless it is connected with Bhadrachalam, Bhadragiri or Bhadradri in the Godavari district, where there was a cult of Rāma (Dr. Barnett). Gardīzī calls Rāvana's island *vjwh* (**vdva*) *smyn*, which must represent a vulgar and mis-spelt form of *vaḍavā mukha*, whereas Biruni, 159, who follows the learned tradition, transcribes this name regularly *b.r.wā-m.χ* <**barawā-mukh* (*r* <*ḍ*). Gardīzī relates the story of the abduction of Rāma's wife by Ravana and the latter's murder by Rāma. This is the "authorized version" of Valmiki's *Rāmāyana* cf. Biruni, 159, but Marvazi's record of Rāma's tyranny and hints at the pardon of Ravana and the lance which he received refer to some aberrant version similar to those which are current among the Buddhists and Jains, according to which Rāvaṇa was a great sage and ascetic and Śita was his daughter. See Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, I, 514, note 1 (who refers to a work of D. Ch. Sen).

Muṭahhar only quotes the names of the *Rāmānī and *Rāvānī, and Shahristānī omits them altogether. In the *Fihrist* all the category A (§§19–23) is left out.

Division B

§24. The reasoning of those who reject prophets is very close to Gardīzī's Persian text (§12). Muṭahhar omits it.

§25 on the destruction of bodies=Gardīzī, §13.

§26. Says Bīrūnī, 45 (tr. I, 93): "Rishis are the sages who, though they are only human beings, excel the angels on account of their knowledge"; therefore the angels learn from them. Gardīzī has a long paragraph on the rishis: "they say that by means of *sensibilia* (*maḥsūsāt*) they can rise to such a state as to comprehend *intelligibilia*. The first part is the exertion of the will towards their object; then, reflexion on how to eliminate subterfuges from their aims; destruction of the things which would bring them gain; separation by way of set purpose from whatever people make to appear good," etc. Cf. Muṭahhar, IV, 14 (tr. 12), and Shahristānī, 443.

§27. The variants offered by the *Fihrist*, Gardīzī, Marvazī and Shahristānī are quoted in the Arabic text, p. 52. The meaning of the term is "those tied with iron" (*muṣaffadūna bil-ḥadīd, ba-āhan bastagān*). Ferrand, 127, quotes a Chinese description of one of such "iron-clads". Holtzmann in Haarbrucker, II, 361, 440, explained **Bakrantiniya* as **Vajra-bandha*, but *vajra* in Gardīzī's text is rendered by *bajr*. Starting from Gardīzī's transcription, I tried the form *N.kr.b.ntī*, and H. W. Bailey has put my hint into perfect Sanskrit: *nigaḍa*, "iron chain" + *bandha*, "having bond of" (or *-baddha*, "bound in"). The Arabic reading will accordingly be **Nikarbantiya*, the cerebral *ḍ* and *ṭ* being regularly rendered by *r* and an aspirated *dh* admitting of a rendering by a surd (*th* or *t*?), cf. Bīrūnī, *duryodhana*>*durjūθan*.

§28. The meaning of **Gangā-yātriya* was recognised by Brockhaus, *Fihrist*, 183, as "those practising the *gangayātrā*, i.e. pilgrimage to the Ganges." The report refers to a practice, not to a particular sect.

§29. For the variants in the *Fihrist*, Gardīzī and Marvazī see Arabic text, p. 52, line 5. Muṭahhar does not quote the name. As the "sect" is described as the "King's party," the first element is certainly *rāja*, the whole being perhaps *rāja-martya* (?). Dr. Barnett suggests *rāja-bartiya* from *rājavṛtti*, "the conduct of a king, or having a livelihood from a king." The reasoning of the adepts is not quite clear, but in the *Fihrist*, 349, they declare: "God has installed the kings, and, if we are killed while obeying them, we shall go to Paradise."

§30. For the variants of the name of the sect (in Gardīzī, Marvazī and Shahristānī) and of the names of the three brothers (in Gardīzī and Marvazī) see Arabic text, p. 52, line 6. Instead of Jūr-ghar, the *Fihrist* calls the mountain *Jūr-ghan* and Gardīzī *Jūn-ghar* (with a possible connection of the name with that of the second brother).

Gardīzī speaks of an equestrian statue of Bhadrū(r) on Jūn-ghar, and of another temple containing the likenesses of the three brothers. Muṭahhar, 17_{13}, may also hint at one of these places in his description of an idol standing at the foot of a high mountain from which devotees leap to their death (v.i.). §30 and the parallel texts contain a number of concrete facts about the three divine brothers and their worshippers, but the identification of the sect remains one of the major difficulties of our text.

The clearest indication is the name of the sacred mountain *Jūn-ghar, easily comparable with the modern Junāgarh in Kathiavar (as first indicated to me by H. W. Bailey).

> This capital of a small state is situated some 40 miles inland, and to the north of the port of Veraval. A lofty mountain which takes its name from its highest peak Girnār, towers over Junagarh and on it is found a multitude of sacred places. Near its top stands a group of highly venerated Jain temples and close by rises a peak Beiru Jhap, "the leap to death," used by Jain devotees for the purpose of self-sacrifice, cf. Muṭahhar, 17 (v.i. 140).
>
> On the other hand, Kathiavar is very closely associated with the memories of Krishna. This god's footprint is shown on the Girnār. In Junāgarh stands a temple built by Vajranābbh, fourth in descent from Krishna, and a smaller temple dedicated to Krishna's brother Baladevji. The spot at which Krishna died from an arrow-wound is visited on the river Sarasvati, near Veraval. See Lt. W. Postans' detailed report on Girnār, etc., in *J.A.S. Bengal*, VII/2, 1838, 865–87; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, VIII (Kathiavar), 1884, 145 (the Girnārā Brahmans said to have been settled on Girnār by Krishna), 268, 271 (myth of Krishna), 487–502 (Junāgaḍ); Burgess, *Lists of the antiquarian remains in the Bombay Presidency*, in *Arch. Survey of West India*, XI, Bombay, 1885, pp. 176–86, 283–318.

These facts pointing to ancient endemic cults would suggest that the solution of our problem lies along the lines of Jainism and Krishnaism. The Jainas venerate only their own titthagaras ("teachers"), but it is a known fact that Jainism has been influenced by Krishnan mythology. Both Krishna and his elder half-brother Baladeva have been treated by Jainas as two types of worldly rulers re-appearing at the definite moments of cosmic cycles. See Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, in *Grundriss d. indo-arischen Phil.*, III, 7, 1935, pp. 18–20, 24. Still more astonishing is the fact that in the process of this readaptation Baladeva has been accorded a higher status than Krishna; see the ancient Jain story of Krishna's death translated by Jacobi in *ZDMG*, 42, 1882, pp. 493–529.

Our §30 is included in the division of those "who do *not* recognise prophets," and Bhādrū with his brothers appears more of a hero than of a god. Therefore a combination of Jainism with some recognition of Krishnaism forms a tempting background for comparisons.

Making allowance for the Jain partiality for Baladeva we might interpret *Bhādr.r*, etc., as **Baladēv* or *Balarām* (another name of

Baladeva). *Jūr*, or *Jūn*,[1] might represent **Jar* or *Jarā* for "Jarakumāra," which was the name of the third brother who fatally wounded Krishna, having mistaken him for a gazelle. It is thinkable that the form *Jwn* (for *Jwr*) has been influenced by some false analogy with the name of the mountain Jūn-ghar. Finally, *M.r.sh* might be a distorted *Krishan*, "Krishna," who plays only a secondary part in the remarkable legend translated by Jacobi.[1] For the Arabic forms of these restored names see Arabic text, p. 52, line 8.

The lament of the sectarians for *Bhādr.r* would be possibly connected with the death of Baladeva, who was killed by a falling tree in the act of asking a wood-cutter for alms. Nevertheless it cannot be concealed that the Jain-Krishnaite explanation leaves some difficulties unsolved:

1. The curious cosmic traits in the legend of Bhādrū.
2. Gardīzī's remark that the two brothers Jūn and M.r.s "devised an artifice (*ḥīla*)" so that Bhādrūz fell from his horse.
3. The detail of the horse as combined with the record of an equestrian effigy of Bhādrū.
4. The outward appearance of the sectarians.

The above explanations were prompted by a desire to squeeze as much as possible out of the original Muslim texts. For suggestions from the Indianist point of view I appealed to the great competence of Dr. Barnett, who communicated to me (8.xi.40) his remarks on §30. While accepting the identification of Jūn-ghar with Junāgarh, he rejects the idea of a connection between the sect and Jainism as "the chains, long hair and ecstatic cult are foreign to their religion." He considers §30 as "a distorted version of the doctrine and practice of some obscure sect worshipping Rāma-Candra with his brothers Lakṣmaṇa and Bharata. Rāma, it is believed, was a complete incarnation of the Supreme God Viṣṇu; on his death again he was merged into Viṣṇu. It is a commonplace that Viṣṇu is immanent in the whole world. Again Viṣṇu (and therefore also Rāma) is often identified with Puruṣa, who is described in Ṛgveda, X, 90, as being sacrificed to form the world, much in the same manner as in the present relation. A foreigner who heard this doctrine together with the old legend, that Rāma was compelled to surrender his throne to Bharata and retire into exile attended by Lakṣmaṇa, might easily misunderstand it and produce the erroneous version given here, the more so as such a sect would probably dwell with intense devotion and zeal on Rāma's sorrows and death. As Gardīzī's version of these doctrines says that the two brothers conspired against "Bhādrūz" and caused him to fall from his horse (?), we may find in this some confirmation of the above explanation. The mention of Bh. riding a horse is peculiar. Very

[1] Baladeva reborn as a god tries to save Krishna who is expiating his sins in a grotto; while Baladeva is taking him to heaven he melts in the air.

few deities are represented thus; but Puranic writers say that Kalki, the future avatar of Viṣṇu, will appear in the world mounted on a white horse."

"As to the names, *Bhādrūz*, etc., possibly conceals something of the proper name of the hero Rāma; it may stand for Bhadra-rāma, or for Bhadra-rāja (in vernacular: Bhād-rāj). Lakṣmaṇa, in the vernacular, would become regularly Lakhman or Lakhan, which, by loss of the letter *lām*, might easily be corrupted to *Jūn*. The name *M.r.sh* might possibly come from *Bh.r.t* (Bharata); the difference in Arabic cursive is not great." For the Arabic forms see Arabic text, p. 52.

Division C

§§31–7 describe various idol-worshippers whom Shahristānī classifies as *'abadat al-aṣnām* or as "worshippers of Heavenly Bodies." According to Muṭahhar, 18 (29), the idol-worshippers explain their cults by the necessity of having some intermediary objects (*al-mutawassiṭāt*) in the cult rendered to him who escapes the senses (*ghā'ib 'an al-ḥawāss*).

§31. Mahā-Kāl, "the Great Kala," is again Śiva, v.s. §§20–21, who is portrayed here from some other idol of his and presented as an *'ifrīt* (Gardīzī: *dīv*, "demon") like Rāvaṇa. According to the legend Śiva had swallowed a poison which stained his neck and he became Nīla-kantha, "Blue-neck," Barnett, 26. Gardīzī, §19, adds that Mahā-Kāl represents a mixture of good and evil traits and that he has many temples, the principal one being situated at *Aj.r* (Shahristani: *Akht.r*), to be restored *Ujjayn* as in Gardīzī's §6. From the name of Mahā-Kāla, Ujjain was surnamed Mahākālavana, cf. Nunda Lal De, 210.

§32. Marvazi *al-Dywātriya*, Gardīzī *Dyvātrī*; omitted in Muṭahhar and Shahristānī. The conspicuous features of the festival are its connection with the spring, the parade of courtesans and the display of masks held on the occasion. Gardīzī erroneously takes *'ajal*, "wheels," for *'ijl*, "a calf" (in Persian *gūsāla*). As a parallel to the name, Dr. L. D. Barnett suggests the term *deva-yātrā*, which means "a procession with images of gods," without a special connection with a definite sect. Outwardly our name has some likeness with that of the festival *Dībālī* (Gardīzī: *Dīvālī*) which, according to Bīrūnī, 289 (tr. II, 182), is celebrated "on the day of the new moon when the sun moves in Libra," i.e. in September, and is sacred to Lakṣmī, the wife of Vāsudeva, i.e. Vishnu. However, this name is explained as *dīpāvali* ("row of lamps") and the time of the year does not suit our §32. Bīrūnī, 288, refers to another festival for the women, called *Gaurtr* (**gauri-trīyā* ?), which is holy to Gaurī, i.e. Devī, the wife of Śiva, and is celebrated shortly before the vernal equinox. As the goddess represents the female energy, this would explain the parade referred to in our text. The name

Gaurī pertains to the milder aspect of Devī, who, under her terrible aspect, is called Kālī, cf. J. Dowson, 86. The name of the sect may perhaps be derived from *Devī-yātrā.

§33. For the variants offered by Muṭahhar, Gardīzī, Marvazī and Shahristānī, see Arabic text, p. 52. The festival of the goddess was held in the autumn, the zodiac of Libra corresponding to September. The goddess is described as wearing a crown on her head and (Gardīzī) possessing four hands, one of them touching (?) a nail, one drawing a sword, the other two holding a vajra (*bajr*) and a chakra-disc (*chakr*). Muṭahhar says that the goddess has one thousand (Shahristānī: numerous) hands. The sacrificial animals were beheaded, not slaughtered (Shahristānī). Human sacrifices of slaves also took place in honour of the goddess (Muṭahhar, Shahristānī). The king's particular oblation was a fair- (or red-)haired man with blue eyes (Gardīzī, Marvazī). The goddess meant in this case is apparently Śiva's wife Devī under her more terrible aspect of Kālī (cf. §32). As, according to Marvazī and Shahristānī, the sect was despised by Indians, we may imagine that the ceremonies described were a part of the bloody Tantric cults which were practised in her honour, Barnett, 27. One of the numerous names of the goddess is Dakṣiṇā, "right-handed," cf. Dowson, 86–7. The form *al-Dahkīniya* (as recorded in Shahristānī) would be a pretty close derivation from a vernacular form (*dakkhin* ?) of this name. This seems to be more satisfactory than the explanation found in Haarbrücker, namely, that Devī's votaries were divided into two classes called "the right" and "the left." It is also possible that the mis-spelt name had some simpler form, like *devī-bhaktiya* (?).

§34. The spelling is exceptionally clear *Jala-bhaktiya*, "Water-worshippers." The term "Angel (Gardīzī: *firishta*) of the water" seems to refer to the Vedic god Apāṃ Napāt, "Offspring of the Waters," or to the various Āpa-goddesses, mothers of Agni, endowed with fertilising and purifying powers, Barnett, 19.

§35. The spelling *Aknhūtriya* (already recognised by Reinaud) is quite correct, the term referring to those who perform *agni-hotrā*, "an oblation to Agni," Barnett, 163. After "worshippers of the Fire," Muṭahhar, IV, 16, adds, "i.e. of Lu-hī" (spelt in two words). Huart (<Senart) explains it as *Lohita*, "the red one," which is the name of Agni's charger. Perhaps it is safer to see in it a mis-spelling of *Agni*. Gardīzī commits an error in adding that these Fire-worshippers affirm that "he who burns himself with Fire purifies himself of every stain." Shahristānī, who considerably develops this point, emphatically confirms that the sect is afraid of soiling the Fire by their breath or by burning their bodies, "contrary to (the practice of) other tribes of devotees," on which v.i. §41. Our sources particularly insist on the participation of the noblemen in the cult of the Fire.

§36. Marvazī leaves out the Sanskrit term for the sect, but the other sources leave no doubt that it is to be restored as *candra* ("the Moon") + *bhakta* ("worshipper"), the latter element appearing in several other names (§§31, 34, 37). Al-Nadīm's version of the original is more complete. He calls the jewel held by the god **chandr-kant*, i.e. *candrakānta*, a jewel formed of congealed moon-rays, and says that the chariot is drawn by four *buṭūṭ* ("ducks"). Marvazī leaves out *buṭūṭ*, while Gardīzī understands *baṭṭ* as *but*, "idol," in addition to his usual confusion of *'ajal* and *'ijl*, v.s. §32. Dr. Barnett reminds me of the goose (*hamsa*), being the attribute of Brahmā, but says that the Moon is represented as riding in a chariot drawn by antelopes!

The phrase *wa naẓarū ilayhi 'alā wajhin ḥasanin* is not quite clear. Gardīzī translates: *va māh ba-rū'ī nīkū bīnand*, "and they look at the moon with pleasant faces." My friend, A. A. Maraghi, quoted to me the Muslim (Egyptian) view, according to which it is auspicious to gaze on "the reflection of the new (?) moon on a beautiful face." [In the *Naurūz-nāma*, attributed to 'Omar Khayyām, ed. Minovi, 71, it is said that contemplation of beauty is equal in effect to the influence of favourable stars.]

§37. The Sanskrit name of the Sun-worshippers appears in the *Fihrist*, Gardīzī and Shahristānī. For the Arabic forms see Arabic text, p. 52, line 14. Gardīzī's form can be easily restored as **Adit-bhaktī*, i.e. *āditya-bhakta*, "worshippers of the Āditya," the Sun (Sūrya) being one of the Ādityas, Barnett, 18. As a parallel to the *candrakānta* (§36), the object in the idol's hands (cf. also *Fihrist*) must be *sūryakānta*, "the Sun-crystal." According to Gardīzī, pilgrims to the Sun's temple observed a fast of 24 hours (?), called *lak.hn* (Ssk. *langhana*, H. W. Bailey), during which they obtained answers to their prayers, in their dreams. As an additional echo of his own time, he says that there were two temples of the Sun, one of which was destroyed by Amir Maḥmūd, while the other still existed in Hindustan.

Division D

§38. For the Arabic variants of Gardīzī and Marvazī, see Arabic text, p. 52, line 15. Gardīzī's form, by itself, suggests to Dr. Barnett *mahā-prāpti*, "great good fortune" (?), but nothing else could be found on these Indian Savonarolas.

§39. Only Marvazī refers to "those dressed in tree leaves." H. W. Bailey suggests *cīra-ambara-dhara*, "wearers of bark-garments." This would give in Arabic **al-jīrānbarā-dahriya*. In the description of the third period of a Brahman's life, Biruni, 269 (tr. II, 232) says: "he does not take shelter under a roof, nor wear any other dress but some bark of a tree simply sufficient to cover the loins" (*mā yuvārī sau'atahu min liḥā al-shajar*), the term *liḥā* meaning

"bark, pulp, pericarp" (Lane). On the other hand, Marvazi definitely speaks of "leaves" (cf. §54) and not of "bark," which makes some difficulty.

§40. For the variants of Gardīzī and Marvazī see Arabic text, p. 52, line 16. For "those resembling wild animals" H. W. Bailey suggests in Sanskrit: *mrga* ("a wild animal") + *cara* ("roaming"), which would give in Arabic **Amirkajariya*. Sulaymān, 50–1, also refers to a class of Indians roaming in the woods and mountains, eating herbs and wild fruit and wearing rings to prevent the possibility of intercourse with women.

The paragraph ends with a vague reference to "other nasty ways and beliefs," which indicates that the original has been abridged. In fact, between our §§40 and 41, Gardīzī describes the *b.rniyān* (?) <**mūniyān* <*muni*, "silent ones," *nyksī* (?), "seekers of Paradise," and *k.stkrtī* (?) or *sydr* (?), "naked ones," who spend their time plucking out the hair of their bodies. For the Arabic forms see Arabic text, p. 52.

§41. Instead of this abridgment, Gardīzī describes the practices of those who successively enter fire and water, and those who apply hot stones to their bodies; then (§32) those who carve their limbs; then (§33), those who burn themselves in dry cow dung, or (§34) in ovens; then (§35) those called *anshiyān* who starve themselves to death. This latter term must be derived from *anāśa* "not eating," but it is better to read with the *Fihrist*, 348, **anashaniya* and connect it with the form *anaśana* (Brockhaus in *Fihrist*, II, 183). Cf. also Muṭahhar, 17 (21).

§42 is also much more developed in Gardīzī, who describes (§36) the *tirshūlī* who throw themselves on an iron trident (*triśūla*) standing by a banyan tree[1] at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamna,[2] then (§37) those who ask the devotees to kill them at the said spot, then those (§38) who let the wild birds peck them to death. This last story occurs in Marvazī in §55, in the description of a temple in the Ganges valley.

The same suicidal practices, and in the same order, are recorded in a special chapter of Muṭahhar who performs his task *con gusto* and adds two new sections, one on those who die by burning on their heads a crown of *muql*[3] and another on those who precipitate themselves from a mountain at the foot of which stands an idol. The last practice may refer to Mt. Girnār (v.s. §30).

[1] Gardīzī gives *tābr* but the regular transcription *baru* (for Ssk. *vaṭa*) is found in Bīrūnī, 284 (tr. II, 170).

[2] This popular horror has found its way into *L'Abrégé des Merveilles*, tr. Carra de Vaux, 43.

[3] Huart translates "bdellium," i.e. balsamodendron. *Muql* is a tree growing in Kachchh, see Bīrūnī, *India*, 102 (tr. I, 208).

Division E

§43 was announced in the general classification of creeds (§§17–18), but rushing as he does through the final part of his account (§§41–43), Marvazī merely hints at the contents of his source with regard to Buddhists and believers in metempsychosis.

In the eleventh century A.D. Buddhism in India was eclipsed by Hinduism to such an extent that Bīrūnī, 124 (tr. I, 249), in spite of his enlightened curiosity, had to confess: "I have never found a Buddhistic book, and never knew a Buddhist from whom I might have learned their theories on this subject (i.e. Mount Meru), all I relate of them I relate only on the authority of al-Īrānshahrī[1] though, to my mind, his report has no claim to scientific exactness;" cf. also Sachau's Introduction, pp. xlv–xlvii. It is possible, however, that two centuries before Bīrūnī, Buddhists had not become so scarce and the study of the pre-Biruniań data on them presents some interest. To our regret these paragraphs have been drastically abridged by the epitomists.

The only positive indication in Marvazī is his distinction between Buddha and bodhisatvas (spelt: *al-būdhusifiya*). Gardīzī mentions Buddhists (*shamanī*) only in his confused introduction but, on the other hand, in his references to Śrāvasti (mistaken for Kapila-vastu ?) and Kuśinagara (§6) shows some knowledge of Buddha's biography. Muṭahhar concludes his chapter on India, p. 19, by a more definite indication: "I have read in the *Kitāb al-masālik* that the Buddhists (*al-sumaniya*) form two parties: that which affirms that Buddha was an apostle, and another which affirms that Buddha is the Creator who has manifested himself in this form" (cf. Huart, *ibid.*, 261). This passage both indicates the source and confirms that Jayhānī's text had a chapter on Buddhism. The same statement on the divisions of Buddhists[2] is found in the *Fihrist*, 347, with further additions: "and here too their opinions differ. Some say that the apostle is an angel; some others say that he is a human being; some again say that he is a demon (*'ifrīt*); some again say that this is the image (*ṣūrat*) of the sage Būdasf (cf. Marvazī) who came to them from God. And each section of them has a special way of worshipping and exalting him. According to some authority, each community of them has an image which they worship, *budd* being a generic name, of which the idols are species, and the highest budd (Buddha) is a man seated on a throne, beardless, with a receding chin (*maghmūs al-dhaqan fil-faqum*), wearing no dress and faintly smiling." It is further stated that the orientation of Buddha's statues is such as to enable the worshippers to face the East. Sometimes the image has four faces so as to be seen entirely from every side.

The passage on Buddha is said to have been taken from a book

[1] Who himself was quoting from Zurqān. [2] With some slight stylistic variants.

other than that transcribed by al-Kindi, and which may be either Jayhānī's *Masālik* or one of its sources.[1]

To Shahristani, 446, the Buddhists (*aṣḥāb al-bidada*) are a subdivision of the Brahmans. Under Buddha there are **al-būdisifiya*, which means "men seeking the path of Truth." Then the ten sins and ten virtues of the Buddhists are enumerated accurately enough. Buddha appeared in the world seven times ("the number of the rivers (called) Ganges"), springing each time from a princely family. Buddhists believe in the eternity (*azaliya*) of the world and in karma (*jazā'*, "retribution"). Shahristāni winds up with his own conclusion that in its features Buddhism is closely connected with India, and that in Islam the nearest approach to Buddha is Khizr.

Division F

As regards the category of "believers in metempsychosis," the position of this creed is not made clear either in Marvazī of Gardīzī. Shahristāni, 449, treats it as one of the three subdivisions of Brahmanism (*thumma anna tafarraqa aṣnāfan*), the other two being Buddhism and "meditation" (*al-fikra wal-wahm* = Rishi in Gardīzī and Marvazī). He quotes the story of the Phoenix, the parable of a compass returning to its starting point and adds that the complete rotation of the world requires 36,000 years, or, according to another version, 360,000 years. Only in Bīrūnī's Chapter V "on the state of the souls and their migrations through the world," is metempsychosis introduced as a general feature of "the Hindu religion," in which it is said to occupy a position as pivotal as that of the *shahāda* in Islam.

C. Geography and Kings

Like the first part of the chapter, this section is most probably based on Jayhānī, but the primary source for the first part is the envoy of Yaḥyā b. Khālid, who visited India towards A.D. 800, whereas in the geographical section reports of Arab mariners must also have been utilised. This applies to the traditional list of Indian kings, and it is surely true with regard to the description of islands and such details as the prohibition of fornication in Khmer. We know the exact name of the traveller responsible for the latter report, v.i. §61.

The purely geographical §§63–6, which have parallels only in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* and Gardīzī, have been borrowed from Jayhānī. Some details betray a particular interest of the original authority

[1] In an additional passage of the *Fihrist*, 345, based on the book of some native of Khorasan, v.s. p. 125, it is said that Buddhists are the most generous people for Buddha forbade them to use the word "no." It is further stated that before Islam most of the Transoxianians were Buddhists. This is nearer the truth than Bīrūnī, 10_{18}–11_2 (tr. I, 21): "In former times Khorasan, Fars, 'Irāq, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria (!) were Buddhist, but then Zarathustra came forth from Azarbayjan and preached Magism in Balkh."

in medicinal plants. Marvazī's §65 on Jālhandar is only an abridgement of *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §10, 38., where such local produce as myrobalan, terminalia bellerica and embilica officinalis are enumerated. The same details are in Gardīzī, §6, with the addition that from Chitrakūt comes *shayṭara-yi hindī*, Vullers: "medicamentum indicum."[1] Under §10, 34. of *Ḥ.-'Ā.* are quoted tamarind, cassia fistularis, etc. If one remembers that Yaḥyā b. Khālid's envoy had the double mission of collecting medicinal plants (*'aqāqīr*) and describing religions, one is tempted to give him credit for such geographical facts on northern India as occur only in the authors based on Jayhānī (*Ḥ.-'Ā.*, Gardīzī and Marvazī). It is interesting that these botanical indications refer chiefly to the Panjab.[2]

§§44–62 on Indian kings and their habits form an integral part of all the older descriptions of India: Sulaymān, 26–9; Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, I, 106; I. Khurdādhbih, 16, 66–8; I. Rusta, 133–5; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 178, 372–6, 382–94; *Ḥudūd*, §10 (my commentary, *ibid.*, pp. 236–9, 242, 249, etc.). As most of the kings appear in the early reports going by the name of Sulaymān (A.D. 851), which do not contain definite traces of what we consider as the report presented to Yaḥyā b. Khālid (*circa* A.D. 800), we have to conclude that the details on the kings go back to some other early source.

§44. The statement on "fornication" is in I. Kh., 67; I. Faqīh, 15, I. Rusta, 132 (cf. *infra* §61), etc. By "fornication" must be meant some of the loose forms of marriage practised by Hindus, e.g. *gāndharva*, "secret informal union by copulation," Barnett, 115–6, or some traces of polyandry, cf. Bīrūnī, 52–3. Sulaymān, 51, specifically states that Indians disapprove of debauchery and confirms their abstinence from wine. According to I. Rusta, 132, the only drinker among the crowned heads was the king of *al-B.h.l*, "who is the king of Ceylon,"[3] cf. I. Kh., 67, and Marvazī, §44.

§45. "Beyond him" refers to the said king of "Ceylon." The three kings (plus a queen) form a special southern group. The original information must belong to some traveller who stayed in Qimār[4] and whose enumeration seems to move from East to West, see I. Rusta, 133: "I saw the king of Qimār and I saw al-'Ābdī," etc. As the three names are already in Ya'qūbī's *History*, I, 106 (written c. A.D. 891, last year mentioned A.D. 872), we must presume that the report belongs to the middle of the ninth century and perhaps to an earlier time.[5]

[1] *Šayṭara* evidently = *chitra*, i.e. *Plumbago zeylanica*, or *Ricinus communis*.
[2] §30 might suggest that the traveller had landed somewhere in Kathiavar.
[3] De Goeje restores **al-Mahal* "unde Maledivae nomen habent, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, IV, 119."
[4] Apparently a different man from Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, v.i. §61.
[5] A reference to the tallest elephants is already found in I.Kh., 67, and very probably it is only a detail from the report on the southern kings.

The names of the kings have several variants in the sources:

		I	II	III
Ya'qūbī, I, 106	..	الديبل	الماريط	الصلمان
I. Rusta, 133	..	العابدى	العارطى	الصيلمان
Mas'ūdī, I, 3[illegible]4	..	القايدى		
Marvazī	.. ..	عابدى	الماريطى	الصيلمان

The name of the first king has been satisfactorily explained by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar in his thesis, *The Knowledge of India possessed by Arab Geographers . . . with Special Reference to Southern India* (University of London, 1938). He restores *'Ābdī*, etc., as **Fāndī*, i.e. Pāṇḍya, the important dynasty in the south-easternmost part of India (to the south of the Kāveri). This conclusion finds a confirmation in Mas'ūdī, *ibid.*, who states that the kings possessing M.ndūr-*fattan are all called al-Qāydī (i.e. **Fāndī*). Mandūr-fattan, "lying opposite Ceylon," is Mathura, Madhura, Madura, the second capital of the Pāṇḍya, on the river Vaigai in the province of Madras. The name of the kingdom itself transmitted by I. Rusta as *Ratylā* is still dark. Ya'qūbī's *al-Dybl* is apparently a variant of the same name, and it certainly has nothing to do either with Daybul near the estuary of the Indus, or with the port of Dabhol, in southern Konkan (85 miles south of Bombay).

Dr. Nainar identifies the best preserved third name with the Cola (Chola) kingdom (in the basin of the Kāveri) and, by the method of elimination, attributes the remaining name to the third Dravidian kingdom of Cera (Chera or Kerala) in the south-westernmost India.

Dr. L. D. Barnett to whom I submitted the case, appositely remarks that (1) while *Ṣaylamān* very closely corresponds to *Ceraman* ("Cera King"), no corresponding compound of *Cola + mān* is attested, and that (2) in view of the date of the report, the Colas (Chola) could hardly have been mentioned by the author, for their kingdom was still occupied by the Pallavas, to whom our second name must refer. A well-known title of the Pallava family, which often occurs in the inscriptions, is *Kāḍuvetti*, and this must be the key to the problem.

This ingenious hypothesis is supported by the following facts. The name of the real Colas (as applied to the Coromandel coast) appears in later Arab geographers as *Ṣūliyān* or *Shūliyān*.[1] The early report speaks of the Ṣaylamān as the strongest of the three kings, and this presupposes a period previous to the foundation of the great Cola "thalassocracy" (towards A.D. 870). Consequently the second name probably refers to the Pallavas during the last

[1] Gharnāṭī (beginning of the twelfth century), ed. Ferrand in *J.A.*, 1925, pp. 91–108; also Ferrand, *Relations*, 348, 376.

years of their domination on the Kaveri. It can be read as *Qāruṭi* (with *r* for *ḍ*), or restored as **Qāruwettī*.

At the very end of §45 enumerating the southern group of kings, comes the reference to a QUEEN in whose kingdom the tallest elephants were found. All the parallel texts show that this is the right place at which the queen should be mentioned, but Marvazī has re-arranged the text and transferred a part of the data into §57, which seems to have in view Orissa and not the region of the Aghbāb in the southernmost part of India. The mistake has been occasioned by the similarity of the names of the queen's kingdom and Orissa. Thus a new complication has been created in a subject sufficiently confused in itself.

The accounts of the southern queen are all based on the same original source, the first trace of which is found in I. Khurdādhbih, 67, who briefly refers to the elephants of the Aghbāb standing 10–11 cubits. I. Rusta, 134, who apparently uses the more complete text of I. Khurdādhbih, says that in *bilād al-Aghbāb* there is a country Ūrf.sin ruled by the queen Rābiya (?): to her belongs the place called Barāz, where the elephants reach the height of 10–11 cubits. According to the *Ḥudūd* (§10, 12.) "Ūr.sh.fīn is a town with a district protruding into the sea like an island. Its air is bad. That sea is called *baḥr al-Aghbāb*. The kingship belongs to a woman called Rāyina."

All the sources, including Marvazī (§§45 and 58) connect the queen's domains with the region of the *Aghbāb*, which is placed in the neighbourhood of Ceylon. Abū Zayd (in Sulaymān, 123) says: "opposite Sarandīb vast *aghbāb* are found. The meaning of *ghubb* is a huge river (or valley *wādī*) extremely long and wide which disembogues into the sea." In practice *ghubb* must be "a lagoon," the latter being a typical feature of the whole southern sea-board of India. To the other texts which I have quoted in the commentary on the *Ḥudūd*, 243–4, may be added the *aghbāb Sarandīb* and *al-thiyāb al-ghubbiya* of the *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, which the editor (van der Lith) explains as "textiles of the Coromandel coast." In §58 Marvazī is clear about the *Aghbāb* being the region from which travellers proceed to the farther East.

On the strength of the indications of the *Ḥudūd*, I located *Ūrsh.fīn/Ūrf.sīn* on the Mandam peninsula forming the southernmost protuberance of India, and suggested that the final element of the name might be restored as **-fattan* (<*pattam*, *paṭṭanam*). In §57 *bis* Marvazī refers to the Rāmshīr (Rāmeśvaram) island which forms a link between Mandam and Ceylon, which indicates that the original source contained more details on the region of Mandam. On the other hand, in §47 the queen is placed *dūna*, i.e. "below" or "on the nearer side of the Ṣaylamān," which seems to mean either "to the south" or "to the east" of Cera, v.s. 143. For more detail see §57.

Dr. Barnett has communicated to me a series of entirely new

suggestions. He compares Ūrf.sīn, etc., with Uraghum/Uragam (or possibly *Ūraga-paṭṭaṇam), which lies to the south of Trichur (Cochin), "near the head of a lagoon which opens into the sea at Chetwai: so it may be said to be on a *jazīra*." The existence of a queen in Cochin is plausible. "In this region the ancient Dravidian rule of matriarchy still to some extent persists, e.g. in the *marumakkaṭṭāyam*, or law of succession through sisters' sons." Further the name *Barāz* reminds Dr. Barnett of "the name of *Pollachi* (in Tamil spelt *Pollāṭśi*), a taluk and its headquarters town in Coimbatore District. Pollachi town is ancient. It lies a short distance (*c.* 20 miles) east of the modern frontier of Malabar and not much further from the adjoining border of Cochin. In the south of the taluk are the Anaimalais or 'Elephant Hills' where fine elephants still range and are caught in pits. In the time of the early Muslim geographers Coimbatore and the southern part of Salem district, forming the Kongu-deśa, were under the suzerainty of the Cēras when the Cerās were the dominant power: then the Pāṇḍyas gained control of them; and finally the Cōḷas under Aditya I became masters of Kongu."

Dr. Barnett's hypothesis is very tempting: *Ūrf.sīn* could be easily restored as **Ūragha-fattan* (see Arabic text, p. 52, line 18) and Barāz (possibly "*Burāz* or *Burrāz*) would suit *Pollāṭśi*. The only points which remain to be elucidated are: Uraghum's titles to distinction and the purport of the indication that *Ūrfsīn* lay "on the lower (nearer) side of the Ṣaylamān." One might also quote the learned Sanskrit name of the Cola capital, viz. *Uragapura*, which the pundits[1] tried to substitute for the native Uraiyūr (Old Trichinopoly, Warriore). Later when the true name of the Colas (*Ṣūliyān*, *Shūliyān*) was applied by Arabs to the Coromandel coast, they spoke of the latter as a *jazīra*,[2] i.e. "a peninsula," and in this connection we may remember the indication of the *Ḥ.'Ā.* concerning the queen's land protruding into the sea. Should these facts be considered in themselves one might imagine that the *early* Arab source hinted at some vassal state on the territory of the renascent but not fully restored Colas, for our source definitely refers to the period of the Cera supremacy.

§46. The name which Marvazī (f. 1a) vocalises *Bulharā* corresponds to the title of *Vallabha-rāja* belonging to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of the Deccan. **Ballahrā* would possibly be a better reading. Like I. Kh., Ibn Rusta and Mas'ūdī, our author has misunderstood the original source, for according to Sulaymān, 28, Ballahra's kingdom only *started* from al-Kumkan, see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 238.

§47. Ṭāqin is Ṭakka-deśa in the region of Sialkot, *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 249.

§48. *N.jāba* should be restored **al-Jāba* (cf. *Lḥrz* for *al-Jurz* in the *Ḥ.-'Ā.*). *Ibid.*, 250, I suggested an identification of his kingdom with the small principality of Chambā, in the south of Kashmir.

§49. *Jurz* is the great king of the Gurjara-pratīhāra dynasty, the raja of Kanoj. The *ṭāṭir* coin (Reinaud, 236: staters[1] or tetradrachms ?) is described by Sulaymān as Ballahrā's coin, but I. Kh., 67, attributes it to Jurz. See *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 237, 250.

§50 is based on a misunderstanding. As the parallel text of I. Rusta, 135, shows, this item is merely a continuation of the paragraph on Jurz. The mistake comes from the word *wa-ba'dahu*, instead of which one must imagine *wa-laysa*, "and there is no other king more opulent than he," i.e. Jurz.

§51. The identity of the king *DHM* is one of the most difficult problems in the series of the texts relative to India, cf. my commentary on the *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 237–8. Yule's very cautious suggestion that the variant RHMY might stand for **Rahmaniya* (?), i.e. Pegu in Burma, is absolutely out of the question, as the king was a neighbour both of Jurz and Ballahrā. In the *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 238, I expressed the view that the traditional enumeration of Indian kings reflects the situation before 850 A.D. A further comparative study of the sources moves me to improve upon my previous surmise by taking for the prototype of DHM/RHMY the Pāla king of Bengal Dharma-(pāla). In his valuable book, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 279, 287, Professor H. C. Ray assigns him to the period A.D. 769–801, which he even extends down to 815. During this period Dharma-pāla created for himself an almost imperial position in northern India. His possessions extended in the north from the Bay of Bengal to Delhi and Jālandhar, and in the south down to the valleys of the Vindhya. He defeated the king of Kanoj Indrarāja and set up in his place his own candidate Chakrāyudha. These facts very closely agree with the indication of Sulaymān, 29, that DHM was at war with Jurz and Ballahrā, and that of I. Kh., 67, that "after" DHM (i.e. next door to him) comes the king of Kāmarūpa (Assam). The geographical hints contained in the *Ḥudūd* (§5, 9., §6, 16., §7, 5, §10, 11.) are also in keeping with the position of Dharma-pāla's realm.[2] Two points deserve particular mention. Marvazi returns to DHM in §§53 and 55, and in the latter passage describes a temple lying in the Ganges valley and visited by the subjects of DHM, which suggests a connection of this king with the basin of the Ganges. More curious is the second point: Sulaymān, 29, states that RHMY was not of noble origin. This unusual and characteristic remark appears to apply especially to Dharma-pāla. H. C. Ray, 282, states that in their inscriptions the Pālas "never claim descent from any mythical or epic hero which is

[1] See K. N. S. Pillai, *The Chronology of the Early Tamils*, Madras, 1932, p. 175.
[2] Gharnāṭī, 108 (v.s. p. 144, note 1).

[1] But for "stater" Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, 91, gives *s.ṭyr*.
[2] In view of my new hypothesis, my commentary on other points has to be reconsidered, e.g. with regard to the towns lying on the Lesser Mihrān. Under §§53 and 57 I have introduced the alterations which the new interpretation has rendered inevitable.

such a common feature in the genealogical tables of many other dynasties of India," and comes to the conclusion that the founder of the dynasty "belonged to an educated plebeian family."

A group of Arabic characters admits of numerous interpretations but the variants DHM and RHMY look very much like the expected Muslim form of Dharma, cf. Biruni, 20, 64: DHRM; see Arabic text, p. 52, line 19. In the *Hudūd* a *damma* is seen over DHM indicating the reading *Dahum*, but very probably is only a trace of the omitted *r*: DHRM. As Dharma-pāla's empire was ephemeral, and even he himself, towards the end of his life, seems to have surrendered to his Raṣṭrakūta rival, H. C. Ray, 286, the original report on DHM, and apparently the other kings, must belong to a period round about A.D. 800 or slightly earlier. Consequently, at least some of the details on DHM may go back to Yaḥyā b. Khālid's envoy (v.s.).

§52. *Qāmrūn* is a constant Arabic mis-spelling of the name *Kāmarūpa*, i.e. Assam. Cf. I. Kh., 67, who also mentions gold as the local product and concludes with a statement on the kings having "split ears," i.e. wearing ear-rings. Another item on Assam is §16. On gold, see commentary on Chap. VIII, §42.

§53 seems to form an appendix to §51 and has a parallel in the *Hudūd*, §10, 7., according to which five territories N.myās, Harkand, Ūrshīn (Orissa), S.m.nd.r and Andrās belonged to Dahum. The original author may have thought that a considerable part of the east coast of India stood in vassal dependence on the said king, cf. also §57. Marvazī has telescoped several items of the original. His *H.dkīra*, with its long bazaar, corresponds to *H.dd.njīra* of the *Hudūd*, §10, 5., where it forms part of F.nṣūr, and belongs to its own king called Saṭūhā. Fanṣūr coming as it does before Qimār (Khmer) must correspond to Panchur, the celebrated camphor port on the western coast of Sumatra, cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 240. Marvazī seems to have committed a mistake in including *H.dkīra* in Dahum's possessions. He also confuses the southern kingdom of Ūrshfīn with Orissa, and in this context spreads DHM's authority over *Baḥr al-aghbāb* on which see §§45 and 57. Under §10, 7. the *Ḥudūd* refers to the shell-trumpet **shank* while Marvazī speaks of cowrie shells, which he calls *k.bnj* (?), cf. Sulaymān, 6, *kbtj* (?), and *'Ajā'ib al-Hind*, 103, 216: *dibājāt al-k.st.j* (?): these spellings are obvious mutilations of a term derived from Ssk. *kaparda*, or *kapardikā*, Prakrit *kavaḍḍa*, which has given *kauri* in Hindi. The *gizhgāv* also contributes to the impression of confusion, for the yak (poëphagus grunniens) is out of place in the region producing pepper (*Ḥ.-'Ā.*, §10, 12.), unless the term is intended for some kind of buffalo (bos bubalus).

§54. Marvazī's text is parallel to that of I. Rusta, 135–7. Both confuse the descendants of the original conqueror of Multān, Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Munabbih, cf. Biruni, 56, with the later Qarmaṭian usurpers who alone could read the *khuṭba* for the Fatimid

caliph (called simply *Maghribi*, "the Western one," in the *Ḥudūd*, but very respectfully *Imām al-muslimīn* in I. Rusta and Marvazī). As the Fatimids did not rise as an independent dynasty until A.D. 907, this item must be an interpolation belonging to the earlier part of the tenth century (Jayhānī ?). A later change is indicated by the Shī'a traveller I. Ḥauqal, ed. Kramers, 322, who states (*circa* A.D. 977) that the rulers of Multān read the *khuṭba* for the 'Abbāsids.

The description of the idol is only an abridgement of the more complete passage in I. Rusta, 135_{10}–137_{18}. The latter text invokes the authority of someone "who informed me, whom I trust and who visited the country," 135_{20}, 136_{14}. The description is possibly(?) borrowed from Jayhānī, and the first person of *akhbaranī* may refer to him. In this case the passage belongs to the beginning of the tenth century and has nothing to do with Yaḥyā b. Khālid's envoy. Sulaymān, 130, says very little of the idol. The accurate Muqaddasī, 4, may have in view the passage on Multān when he speaks ironically of the glut of details in Jayhānī: "now he describes the idols of Hind, and now he speaks of the wonders of Sind." I. Ḥauqal, 321–2, gives an accurate description of the idol itself. The account of the idols in the *Fihrist*, 347, is confused. Although it follows the introduction on the MS. in al-Kindī's writing, it cannot go back to the same original source as the description of the Indian sects, *ibid.*, 347. Possibly the source on Multan is Abū-Dulaf (v.s. p. 126), for the story of the idol's being supported by magnets is found in the report of this wonder-teller as quoted in Yāqūt, III, 457.

§55. For a third time Marvazī returns to DHM's kingdom in connection with the temple on the Ganges where devotees allow themselves to be pecked to death by birds of prey, cf. Gardīzī, §38.

§56. The three kingdoms are also found mentioned in Sulaymān, 32, Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, I, 106, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 388, and the *Ḥudūd*, §10, 8.–10. (commentary, *ibid.*, p. 242). The mystery of *T.rsūl* has been cleared up thanks to Prof. G. H. Luce (Rangoon), who has drawn my attention to the indigenous name *Tirchul* (in Chinese transcriptions *T'u-lo-chu*, *T'u-li-ch'u*) of the Pyu (*P'iao*) people who in the ninth century were in occupation of the plains of Burma. Our T.rsūl (better: **T.rshūl*) must be restored as **Tirchul*, cf. Luce, *Names of the Pyu* in *J. Burma Research S.*, XXII/2, 1932.

I have now come to the conclusion that the second kingdom Mūsa (or Mūsha) is identical with the still existing Mo-so people of the north-western part of Yün-nan. The early history of the Mo-so is little known, see Chavannes, in J. Bacot, *Les Mo-so*, Leiden, 1930, p. 132. They came from outside and founded a kingdom in the prefecture of Li-kiang-fu (to the north of Ta-li-fu in the loop of the Yangtze, H. R. Davies, *Yün-nan*, 1909, 388). The Mo-so are a gifted people: a large collection of their pictographic MSS., including

some dramas, belongs to the Congress Library, Washington, see *Reports of the Librarian of Congress*, 1924, 278–9 and 1930, 386–90. In Mongol times the Mo-so were called *Chaghān-Jāng*, i.e. the White Jang to distinguish them from the Qara-Jāng (Marco Polo: *Carajan*), whose centre was at the present day Yün-nan-fu, v.s. commentary on China, §35. The Chinese call the Mo-so *Pe-man* "White barbarians," and transcribe their indigenous name *Mo-siê* or *Mosha*, see Deveria, *La frontière sino-annamite*, 164. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, XV, p. 23, says that *some* of the Qarā-Jāng are *white* (v.s. p. 86); at another place, ed. Blochet, 374, he definitely refers to the Chaghān-Jāng. Our identification is supported not only by the name and by geography, but also by the precious indication in Sulaymān, 31: "the Mūja (= Mūsa) are a people of *white* complexion, in dress similar to the Chinese. Musk is abundant with them. The country is covered with white mountains unusually long. The inhabitants have to combat with several kings that surround them" (i.e. probably the five other kingdoms of Nan-chao).[1]

More doubtful is the identity of Mānk. As the kingdom is said to be situated beyond Mūsha, on the frontier of China, one would expect a reference to Qarā-Jāng, i.e. the original part of the strong kingdom of Nan-chao having its centre at Yün-nan-fu.[2] However, in this case the name Mānk (variants: *Māyd*, *Mābd*, *Mānd*), cannot be explained. If we start from the form *Mānk*, recorded both in the *Ḥudūd* and Marvazī, we can restore it as **Mang* and further identify its bearers with the well known "Gold teeth" of Marco Polo, II, 69, in Chinese *Kin-chih*, in Persian *Zar-dandān*, Rashid al-dīn, XV, 23, Blochet, 378. According to Deveria, *o.c.*, 129, the Gold-teeth were originally called *Mang-shih-man*, "the barbarians of Mang-shih," as the Chinese called a region in the western corner of Yün-nan (on the right bank of the Salween, some 100 Km. to the S.W. of Yung-ch'ang).[3] M. Polo places the Zardandan at 5 days' distance to the west of Carajan, while according to Rashīd al-dīn their frontiers ran partly with Tibet (*sic*) and partly with Qarā-Jāng. The Kin-chih are supposed to survive in the present-day Po-jen, "White men," or Min-kia-tsŭ, whose headquarters are now the plains of Ta-li-fu, Davies, *Yün-nan*, 372.

In any case, the identification of Tirchul and Mū-sha has a considerable importance in that it suggests that Muslim merchants in the ninth century were already acquainted with the "Burma–Yün-nan" road, so much in the news at the time of writing (1940).

[1] The alternative spelling *Mū-ja* may point to some soft pronunciation of *s*. There may be also some confusion between the Mo-so and another people called Mo-ch'o, Deveria, 164, Sainson, 180, which is a branch of the Black Lolo, and whose representatives are also found in the region of Ta-li.

[2] This kingdom was founded in 728 and successfully resisted the T'ang. In 862 its king invaded Tongking. In 923 the kingship passed to the dynasty of Ta-li. In 1253 the Mongols subdued Nan-chao, cf. also Chavannes in Bacot, *o.c.*, 132.

[3] At present Mang-shih (local name *Möng-Hkwan*) is an important Shan state of Yün-nan, Davies, *o.c.*, 110.

Incidentally the identification increases the chances of our tentative interpretation of some names in the chapter on China, §35.

§57. Above (§45) we have said that §57 is a result of Marvazī's own rearrangement of the sources. The following details in the paragraph belong to the queen of §45: the name of the kingdom (*Ūrfshīn*, I.R.: *Ūrfsīn*, *Ḥ.-'Ā.*: *Ūrshfīn*); the name of the queen (*Rāniya<Ind. *rānī*); the country lying "on the sea-coast" and having a bad climate.

Entirely distinct are the statements bringing Ūrfshīn into contact with DHM. A king of northern India (namely, of Bengal?) could never have had any direct relations with the territory lying in the farthest south beyond the kingdoms of Cola and Pandya. In my commentary on the *Ḥudūd* I tried to obviate the confusion of the kingdom of Ūrshfīn, etc., with Orissa, which had crept into de Goeje's edition of I. Rusta, p. 134, note *f*. I feel confident that in our §57 we have a similar confusion of the two names. In I. Kh., 64, the name Ūrnshīn (*Ūrishīn?) refers to Orissa, which is described as "a great kingdom possessing elephants, (riding) animals and buffaloes, as well as numerous goods; its king is of elevated rank." In a parallel passage, the *Ḥudūd* (§10, 7.) has *Ūrshīn*, which it definitely distinguishes from *Ūrshfīn*. Orissa, neighbouring on Bengal from the south, was certainly within the radius of DHM's activity, and this would be the explanation of our §57.

The dark point is whether in Marvazī's source there existed a reference to a separate queen of Orissa, or whether Marvazī himself having confused the two names, attributed to Orissa the characteristics of Ūrshfīn. The personal details of the queen (huge, astute, warlike, etc.) do not occur in any other source, and there is still a presumption that Muslim travellers had heard of the existence of a queen in Orissa.

Orissa, comprising the Mahanadi basin with the adjoining territories, "has always been ruled by a number of dynasties simultaneously." The records of single dynasties are known only imperfectly. In the provisional summary, compiled with great care by H. C. Ray, *o.c.*, 391–503, there are several Mahādevīs mentioned either together with their husbands or independently. Among the Kara rulers of Tosali (in the delta of the Mahanadi) there was a queen called Daṇḍī Mahādevī, who "ruled the earth for a long time." According to H. C. Ray she reigned before A.D. 1076, but R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1930, I, 146–56, assigns to her a much earlier date round about A.D. 958–65. Daṇḍī Mahādevī had succeeded her mother, and the latter's mother-in-law (? Banerji, I, 160) was Tribhuvana Mahādevī of whom an inscription is still extant. These dates are obviously too late to be contemporary with Dharma-pāla of Bengal, but they show that there was a tradition of queenship in Orissa. Besides, Muslim DHM could easily refer to Dharma-pala's successors as well.

§57 *bis* (which in Marvazī's text is inserted out of place as §17 of the factitious Chap. XV) has to be considered jointly with §57. The name of Rāmshīr is not recorded in other sources, unless the name of Bābīn (I. Kh., 63, tentatively restored by Yule as Bāpattam ?) or Nūbīn (*H.-'Ā.*, §10, 11., mistaken for §6, 16.), closely connected with Ceylon, is but a mis-spelling of Rāmshīr in Arabic cursive. The remaining part of the paragraph corresponds to I. Kh., 65, but the latter places the whistling dwarfs in the island of Rāmī.[1] In fact between §§57 and 58 there is a gap occasioned by the omission of the islands on the way from *Bahr al-Aghbāb* to Zābaj (v.s., p. 50, note 1).

§58. Zābaj (Jawaga), cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 56, refers to the insular empire of the Śrīvijaya dynasty, whose importance was fully brought to light by the late G. Ferrand, *L'Empire soumatranais des Çrīvijaya*, in *Jour. As.*, 1922, XX, 1–104, 160–246. Sulaymān has a long paragraph on Zābaj, 89–101, with a slightly different version of the ordeal, 48; Marvazī's text is entirely parallel to I. Rusta, 138.

The island of B.rṭā'il, cf. I. Kh., 68, has not been identified. In Arabic *birṭīl*, pl. *barāṭīl*, means "a present made to gain someone's favour," and its root may have influenced at least the spelling of *B.rṭā'il* with *ṭ*. Among the curious features of the island is the beauty of its inhabitants[2] and the music heard there by night. I am tempted to identify *B.rṭā'il* with Bali, the fame of whose musicians and dancers could not fail to reach Arab mariners. The story of Dajjāl may refer to some of the Balinese masks, but I cannot say whether Bali was ever a market for cloves as it is claimed in Ibrāhīm b. Wāṣif's *Abrégé des merveilles*, see Ferrand, *Relations*, 144. B.rṭā'il (under the disguise of *Kāsil*) has found its way into the story of Sindbad, *Alf-layla*, night 541.

§59. Cf. §19 on Vāsudeva. In I. Rusta, 139, as well, this short item comes separately after the account of the ordeals.

§60. The item on the severity of the king of Qandahār (?) and his punishments exactly corresponds to what I.R., 133, says about the king of Khmer. Our §§60–62 form one block of information on Khmer, and Qandahār would be out of place in this connection.[3]

§§61–62. *Qimār* is Khmer, i.e. the territory of the present-day Cambodia. Although its population belonged to Australasian stock, the country, from the earliest times, formed a dependency of Indian culture. Vishnuism and Śivaism flourished in Cambodia side by side with Buddhism, see Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient*, 556, 563. Consequently it was regarded as India by Muslim travellers who visited it as a half-way station on the way to China. According to I. Rusta, 133, and I. Faqīh, 16, the genuine Indian religion was from Khmer.

I. Rusta, 132, quotes an Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, who spent two years in Khmer and attributes to him the well-known report on the prohibition of fornication and wine which has been reproduced by the majority of geographers and is found embedded even in Sulaymān's longish chapter on Khmer, 93–101, v.s. §44. This early traveller (before A.D. 850 ?) must be responsible for the majority of data on Khmer contained in our source, but I. Rusta, 133 (cf. our §60) seems to be quoting some other authority on Khmer as well. The king to whom the traveller refers may be the founder of the Khmer empire Jayavarman II (A.D. 802–69), whom Ferrand identifies with the Khmer prince established on the throne by the Śrīvijaya mahārāja, see Abū Zayd Sīrāfī in Sulaymān, 99, cf. Grousset, *o.c.*, 559.

Marvazī's statement on the 100,000 devotees is in I.R., 133, but neither the name *R.mādī*[1] nor the story of the devotee's caustic remark are found elsewhere. This passage is a clumsy interruption of the narrative.

§63. In I. Rusta, 133, as well, *al-Arm.n* (which is better than our *Arh.n*) comes after Khmer, but it does not seem that it was visited by the traveller who declares to have seen the kings of Khmer, *Pāṇḍya and Fārṭī (v.s. §45). **Al-Arman* closely corresponds to *Rmeñ*, as the kingdom of Pegu (in the delta of the Irawaddy) was called in Old Mon.[2] It is quite natural that Pegu should have been referred to as the kingdom nearest to Khmer which before the invasion of the T'ai (thirteenth century) stretched up to the Salween.

North of Pegu with its Mon population lay the kingdom of Pagan (or Prome) inhabited by the Pyu, who called themselves Tirchul (v.s. §56). This kingdom lay on the road from Burma to China, the two kingdoms Mūsha and Māyd (Mānk ?), forming further stages towards Yün-nan. On the Indian side we have the king DHM, whom we have identified with Dharma-pāla, and Assam, called by the Arabs *Qāmrūn* (for *Kāmarūpa*). Outside these names, there are two other difficult names in the region connecting Burma with India. They occur in Sulaymān, 32 (copied in Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I,

[1] I.e. Sumatra, see Ferrand, *Relations*, 25. Apparently Marvazī took *Rāmshīr* and *Rāmī* for one place.

[2] Our source definitely uses the comparison *k-al-majānn al-muṭarraqa* as a term of beauty. Lane's interpretation of the simile: "as though their faces were clad with sinews one above the other, rough and broad faces" does not suit the text. Dozy, *Supplement*, gives *ṭarraqa*, "remettre a l'enclume."

[3] Early geographers usually refer to the region of the present-day Qandahār as al-Rukhkhaj (Arachosia) and place its capital at Panjwāy. The name Qandahār (Balādhurī, 434: *Qindahār*) appears in I. Kh., 56, and Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, 281. More usually al-Qandahār stands either for the port of Ghandhār in the Gulf of Bombay, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, §6, 16. and §10, 17., or for Gandhāra, cf. Bīrūnī, 101. According to Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, XIII, 120 (tr. 73) the country Qarā-Jāng in Yün-nan, v.s. §56, was called both by the local population and the Indians *K.nd.r*, while the Tājiks (Iranians) called it *Q.nd.hār*. In the volume edited by Blochet, 376–7, the forms *K.ndh.r* and *Q.ndū* correspond to *K.nd.r*. Here **Qandahār* is only a popular etymology by which a better known name was substituted to a similar barbarian one.

[1] As yet *al-r.mādiya* has found no Indian explanation. In Arabic *ramād*, "embers, ashes," may refer to some austerity practised by the devotees (v.s. §§20, 22). But *al-r.mādī* may be merely a mis-spelling for *al-Qimārī*, "Khmerian". See Arabic text, p. 52, line 20.

[2] Luce, "Notes on the Peoples of Burma" in *Burma Census Report*, cf. Yule, *Cathay*, p. clxxxv.

368), whose series runs as follows: al-RHMY (*Dharma-pāla of Bengal)—*al-Kāshbīn* (Mas'ūdī: *al-Kām.n*)—*al-Qīr.nj* (Mas'ūdī: *al-F.r.nj*)—then "many kingdoms whose numbers are known to God alone" (omitted in Mas'ūdī), one of them being *al-Mūja*—then *al-Māhad* (Mas'ūdī: *al-Mūja* and *al-Mānd*). As a neighbour of Bengal *al-Kāshbīn* or *al-Kām.n* should correspond to Assam,[1] and to some extent this is confirmed by the detail on the beauty (?) of its inhabitants, cf. Marvazī, §16. For *Qīr.nj/F.r.nj* there remains only some territory of Burma. As Mas'ūdī adds that it is situated on a "tongue of land," one might take it for an alternative designation of the peninsula of Pegu, but if "the tongue" points only to the narrowness of the territory, one might consider Arakan. The native name of the latter *Rakhuing* does not resemble the Arabic forms, even if we restore them as **Qarang, Farang*, etc.[2] Between *Qīr.nj* and China Sulayman mentions "many" other kingdoms (of which he names only al-Mūja). I. Rusta omits the Burma–Yün-nan road altogether.

§§64–67 all refer to places connected with Hindu cults. In this regard, it is similar to Gardīzī's confused §6. The latter follows a paragraph on Indian crafts and enumerates "the towns in which such wonders (*'ajā'ib*) are wrought"; it refers to some facts not recorded elsewhere (Buddha's birth-place etc.) and spells some names in a peculiar way (*J.l.ndh.r*). On the other hand the arrangement of Marvazī's list and its details entirely correspond to those of the *Ḥudūd*:

H.-'A.	Marvazi
§10, 37.	§64
§10, 38.	§65
§10, 39.	§66
§10, 40.	§67

This points to a common source (Jayhānī), but the *Ḥudūd* and Marvazī complement each other. For commentary see *H.-'A.*, 247.

§64. The detail on *Rām.yān* lying in the region of Lūhūvar (Lahore) partly agrees with the *Ḥudūd*, in which the town comes immediately after Lahore, but is said to be under Multān. The name of Rām.yān seems to be connected with Rāma. Dr. L. Chandra draws my attention to a sacred place Rāma-chautra, situated on the Rāvi downstream from Lahore.

§65 is completed by f. 60b (Chap. XIX): on a king of Jālāndhar (*sic*) who lived 250 years and on the medicinal products of the place (v.s. p. 143). The two passages combined correspond with the *Ḥudūd* and Gardīzī (f. 199a).

[1] Ferrand, *Relations*, 14, deciphers *Kāshbīn* as Lakshmipur.

[2] *Q* can be easily confused with *t*. It was suggested to me that *Tyrang* might stand for *Talaing*, but the latter is the Burmese name of the ancient inhabitants of Pegu. As the Burmans occupied the region towards A.D. 1286 we cannot project the term into the 9th–10th century.

§66. I have nothing to add to my tentative identification of *S.lābūr* (which could be easily restored as **Singāpūr*) with Hsüan-Tsang's *Seng-ha-pu-lo* (Simhapura). The spot on which the capital of this region stood is still doubtful. Most probably it lay near the Salt Range which stretches north of the Jhelum. Gen. A. Cunningham placed it first at the sacred spring of Kētas, and later, at the village of Malot, 15 miles west of Kētas. The whole problem has been reconsidered on the spot by Sir A. Stein, *Archaeological reconnaissance in N.W. India and S.E. Iran*, 1937, 45–58. The author concurs in the opinion that Simhapura lay at, or near, Ketas, but some difficulties with the distances indicated by Hsüan-Tsang seem still to stand in the way of reaching final conclusions.

The *Ḥudūd* gives a curious indication on the trade and the coinage of S.lābur. Marvazī is more interested in the system of remuneration of the courtesans.

§67. *B.rājūn*, *B.rāhūn* (?) (cf. *Ḥudūd*: *B.rīhūn* ? and Muqaddasi *B.rhīrwā*) is difficult to identify. According to the *Ḥudūd* it possessed its own king and looked like a *ribāṭ* (fortified camp). For the Arabic forms of this indistinct name see Arabic text, p. 52, line 21. The obvious identification would be with Benares which meets the indication of the sacred waters (*Ḥudūd*, §10, 40.) and of the 700 "houses belonging to idols" (*Ḥudūd*: "300 idol temples"). However, the name of Benares (Ssk. *Vārāṇaṣi*, Birūnī: *Bāṇārsī*) cannot be recognised in the available forms. Outwardly the spelling might be taken for Budā'ūn (<Buddhgaon), but the latter is said to have been constructed by a prince Buddha only in the tenth century A.D. Budā'ūn stands on the Sot (or Yār-i Vafādār), a left tributary of the Ganges. An inscription of the 12–13th century found in Lakhanpur, a suburb of the city, enumerates eight generations of local rulers and says that under the sixth of them "there was never any talk of Hambiras (Muslims ?) coming to the banks of the river of the gods." See *Budaun: a Gazetteer*, Vol. XV of the *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces*, Allahabad, 1907, 130–1. On the whole, Budā'ūn was not sufficiently distinguished in the past and the "river of the gods" apparently refers to the Ganges and not to the Sot. The only Hindu temple of which a mention is found in the *Gazetteer* was dedicated to Nilakantha Mahādeva and was later converted into a mosque.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ḤABASHA

§1. The term Ḥabasha comprises not only the Abyssinians but also other peoples of north-eastern Africa (Αἰθίοπες). The introduction develops Marvazī's usual ideas on anthropology, see Chap. IX, §§17–20, Chap. XV, §1. The expression *mamlakatu Fāris wal-'Arab wal-Rūm* is strange and apparently refers only to "territories." Cf. Chap. VIII, §19 (Ūjam).

§2. See Chap. IX, §§17–20. In Chap. XVII (f. 47b) Marvazī returns to his favourite antithesis of Africans and Turks: "Harmony (*i'tidāl*) in a Zanj is that he should be black, tall in stature, with large eyes, nostrils and corners of the mouth, with crisp hair and harsh voice, whereas a Turk should be short, with narrow eyes, nostrils and mouth, and a shrill voice.[1] If a Zanjī had the characteristics (*kayfiya*) of a Turk, or vice versa, this would be an anomaly. Each nation, nay, each person has a special constitution (*mizāj*) which forms their healthiness and harmony, and the harmony of Zayd differs from that of 'Amr."

§3. The *Ḥudūd*, §57, describes the "Ethiopians" as black but having regular features, lazy but endowed with lofty aspirations.

§4. According to E. Mittwoch, *Die literarische Tätigkeit Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānīs*, in *MSOS*, XII, 1909, pp. 109–69, Ḥamza lived *circa* 280–360/893–970, and his chief historical work was completed *circa* 350/961. Consequently he belongs to the post-Jayhānian epoch. The quotation does not seem to figure in the known works of Ḥamza, and it is even difficult to find a place for it in any other of his works, as far as one can judge from their titles. Nothing is known either about Ḥasan Sīrāfī. The story seems to indicate that the enterprising natives of Sīrāf not only traded with China (v. Chapter VIII, §26), but even penetrated far into Central Africa. The Negro kingdom of Kānam lay to the N.E. of lake Chad, see Marquart, *Die Benin Sammlung*, 1913, p. 82. Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, I, 217, says that the Negroes Zoghāwa occupy the territory of Kānam, their king being called al-Kākra. The gigantic tree referred to in the story must be a baobab.

§5. Jāḥiẓ in his Praise of the Negroes *Fakhr al-sūdān 'alal-bīḍān*, in *Tria opuscula*, ed. van Vloten, 79, also quotes the opinion that the colour black is useful for the eyes. *Ibid.*, 81: the Negroes say that it was not God who made them black for their vilification, but that it was not God who made them black for their vilification, but the conditions of the country in which they live. It is possible that Marvazī in his defence of the colour white is aiming at the subtle sophisms of Jāḥiẓ. A reference to the black dress of police agents is

[1] Cf. the characteristics of the Turks in 'Utbi-Manīnī, II, 83: broad faces, small eyes, flat noses, shaven hair (or scanty hair, beards), sharp swords, black clothing, cuirasses.

found in the *Laṭa'if al-ma'ārif*, 132: *tulbis al-sawād 'alā al-shurat*, in the sense of "carrying coals to Newcastle"!

§§6 and 7. Even on the external evidence of their fantastic character, the two anecdotes must have a common source, which in the first case is vaguely called *Tawārīkh* and in the second *Ta'rīkh mulūk al-Turk*. Both anecdotes jointly appear in 'Aufī (Niẓāmu'd-dīn, *o.c.*, Nos. 1973 and 1974), who explains that they have been taken from his maternal uncle Majd al-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Adnān al-Surkhakatī's *Tārīkh-i Mā-warā al-nahr* and *Tārīkh-i Turkistān*. Barthold, who follows Ḥājjī Khalīfa, calls the two histories "History of Khitāy" and "History of Turkestan," see *Turkestan*, *GMS*, 17, while Niẓāmu'd-dīn seems to regard them as a single work. Majd al-dīn was court physician to the Qara-khanid king of Bukhara Qilij Tamghāj-khan Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn (574–97/1178–1200 ?), to whom he dedicated his work (or works). 'Aufī himself attended on that king in 597/1200, Niẓāmu'd-dīn, 5, 8. Consequently there is no doubt that the work was composed towards the end of the twelfth century, at least fifty years after the last date (514/1120) found in the *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayawān*. As Marvazī states that he took it from some "Histories"[1] and a "History of Turkish kings," we are forced to infer that Majd al-dīn's was not a pioneer composition in this field. He may have taken his anecdotes from Marvazī, or even from the latter's source.

The contents of the first story apparently echo the presence of some Abyssinians on the Khorasan front. One of the important amirs whom Sultan Bark-yaruq appointed governor of Khorasan towards the very end of the twelfth century A.D.,[2] was called Dād-beg Ḥabashī b. Altuntaq, Barthold, *o.c.*, 34. This may be only a personal name, but it may also indicate some admixture of African blood in the said amir. Cf. *ibid.*, 325, the personal name Zangī b. 'Alī.

In the second story Marvazī definitely refers to two Turkish kings, *B.k.j* (*K.j* ?) and *Jabbūya*, i.e. Jabghūya. The latter is a well-known Turkish title (*yabghu*, *jabghu*, etc.), which according to I. Kh., 16, specially distinguished the Khallukh (Qarluq) rulers. The *Ḥudūd*, §13, 1. suggests that in olden times "the rulers of Kāshghar were from the Khallukh, or from the Yaghmā." From the latter tribe rose the Qara-khanids, see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, p. 278, and it is tempting to take our *B.k.j* for a bad mis-spelling of *Yaghmā* and a hint at the triumph of the latter tribe, see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 288. In 'Aufī's source the situation had become considerably entangled. The name of the second king appears in the MSS. as *T.k.j*, *B.l.j*, *B.l.ḥ*, whereas the incomprehensible *Jabbūya* has been replaced by "Ḥasanūya, the king of

[1] We must bear in mind that in Gardīzī *Tawārīkh* refers to Jayhānī's work, see note to Chap. XII, §9. After all, *Ta'rīkh mulūk al-Turk* in §7 may refer not to a definite book but to a historical tradition.

[2] He was appointed after the murder of Ākinchī b. Qochqar (A.D. 1097) quoted by Marvazī in Chap. IX, §3.

Iran," with a clear allusion to the well-known Kurdish ruler Hasanūya (348–69/959–79). The original story of the Abyssinian murderer of the Jabbūya, as reported by Marvazī, was apparently invented by the opponents of the Qara-khanids, but Marvazī introduces into it a complimentary conclusion, cf. Chapter VIII, §22. Later on, at the court of a Qara-khanid prince, some new feature of nobility was conferred on his ancestor by means of his association with a *pādshāh-i Iran*. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 7, calls this story "a fantastic legend, evidently of bookish origin."

CHAPTER XV

REMOTE COUNTRIES

As stated in the Introduction, this Chapter is the result of a whim of Marvazī's to collect under one heading some heterogeneous items extracted from other sections. Thus the chapter is a pot-pourri of matters relating to the northern peoples, to Chinese Turkestan, to Africa and to the southern seas.

§1. The author's idea of the influence of excessive cold (see Chapter IX, §§17–20) and heat (Chapter XIII, §§1–5) is meant to be a connecting link between the disjointed items of Chapter XV.

§§2–4. For geographical reasons, the translation and commentary of this group of items on northern lands has been treated as §§2 *bis*, *ter* and *quater* of Chapter XV.

§§5–6, referring to Chinese Turkestan, are treated as §§5 *bis* and *ter* of Chapter XV.

§7. Abū Sa'īd 'Ubaydullāh b. Jibrīl was one of the ten members of the Christian family of Bukht-yishū, famous in the records of medical science. Abū Sa'īd died in 450/1058, see E. G. Browne's translation of the *Chahār-Maqāla*, 145, and E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, pp. 23–4. Marvazī quotes him also in Chapter XVI, f. 47b = 'Aufi, No. 1941. Both quotations are probably from 'Ubaydullāh's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, which, according to Niẓāmu'd-dīn, 99, is one of the sources of Br.Mus.Or. 2784.

§9. In Muslim terminology the Zanj country represents the whole of the eastern coast of Africa, see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 472. The story belongs to the usual class of wonder tales, v.i. §23 on a *Kitāb al-baḥr*.

§10. I. Kh., 66, refers to Alankabālūs (Nicobar islands?) as the first place of call on the way from Ceylon to China, cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 188. Sulaymān, 16, also mentions the incomprehensible language of the inhabitants. The name of the island is sometimes spelt *Lankābālūs*, (*lankā*, "island" + *Bālūs*, cf. §19), but the etymology of the name

seems to be *al-Nankabar* (or *Nakkavar* > Nicobar), "the naked." The language of the islanders is related to the Mon-Khmer family.

§11. Cf. I. Kh., 45. In Sulaymān, 9, these islands are separated from Lankābālūs by the sea called Andamān. In Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf's *Mukhtaṣar al-ajā'ib* (*circa* A.D. 1000), translated by Carra de Vaux under the title *L'Abrégé des Merveilles*, 55, a similar tribe of negro cannibals is located in the neighbourhood of the island Rāmnī (Sumatra). Ferrand, *Relations*, 25, identifies their island with that called *Maljān* in Sulaymān, cf. *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, p. 473.

§§12–13 are made up of some details found in the books of wonders. The story of the rejection of a dīnār by a savage is found in Biruni, *Kitāb al-jamāhir*, ed. Krenkow, p. 9, who quotes *ba'ḍu man sāfara fil-baḥr*. References to *baḥriyyūn* are found also in I. Kh., 62, 65.

§14. According to the *Ḥudūd*, §3, 3a, one of the "Gulfs" of the "Great Sea" which begins from the limits of Abyssinia and stretches westwards and off the Sudan is called the Barbarī Gulf. It corresponds to the Gulf of Aden. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 231–3, calls it *al-khalīj al-Barbarā*. It is probable that Marvazī too is thinking not of the Berbers of Northern Africa, but of some wild tribe in the neighbourhood of Berbera (British Somaliland).

§15. See §8 *bis* in Chapter IX (Kimāk).

§16. The story of the dumb barter of cloves corresponds to the *Abrégé des merveilles*, pp. 38, 44. The author first locates the bargain in the island of B.rtāyil (see our Chapter XII, §58), and then in a "clove valley in India." The origin of the story is certainly much older. It was reproduced by Bīrūnī, 159, Z. Qazvīnī, I, 111, Buzurg b. Shahriyār, *Les Merveilles de l'Inde*, ed. van der Lith, 168, etc. Bīrūnī compares the word *lavang* (Ssk. *lavanga*), "cloves," with the name of the island Lankā, from which they are obtained (?). There seems to be some confusion about the name of the island. Marvazī calls the inhabitants of the island *jinn*. According to Bīrūnī, 159, the trade takes place with the jinns (*ma'al-jinn*). In the *Abrégé des Merveilles*, as translated by Carra de Vaux, 38, the cloves in B.rtāyil are bought from "des marchands invisibles." As is known, the root of *jinn* means primarily "to hide."

§17. See Chapter XII, §57 *bis* (Rāmshīr).

§18. The story of the swimmers is already in I. Kh., 65.

§19. *Bālūs* is Baros on the south-western coast of Sumatra, see *Ḥ.-'Ā.*, 187, 228, 241.

§20. Al-Aḥsā (Laḥsā) lies on the southern coast of the Persian Gulf. Nothing seems to be known of the existence of anthropoids in Arabia, with the exception of Yemen.

§21. See Chapter IX, §5 *bis* (Kāshghar).

§22. Wahb b. Munabbih[1] (as preserved in Ibn Hishām's *Kitāb al-tījān*, ed. Lidzbarski, *Z. f. Assyr.*, VIII, 1893, p. 302) reports that, before entering the Land of Darkness, Dhul-Qarnayn met in the

[1] Died in 104/722 or 110/728, see Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 462.

country of Gog and Magog a people "with small eyes and faces covered with hair, like those of apes, who do not come out at midday but only at night, for they hide themselves from the Sun's heat in mountain lairs," and then another people with blue eyes and hog-faces. Wahb's version is different from Marvazī's and he says nothing about the opposition of these monsters to Dhul-Qarnayn. In Pseudo-Callisthenes, Book II, Chapter 33, Alexander's army comes to blows with the wild men whom they found sitting on rocks and who were "naked, covered with thick hair, terrible, big and partly black with bushy hair falling down, each four cubits high, strong and ready to fight." Only with the help of burning fire did Alexander succeed in putting them to flight. Soon after (Chap. 37) follows the episode of Alexander's entering the "Lightless" Region. See H. Weismann's translation in Pfaffe Lamprecht's *Alexander*, 1850, II, 122–4.

§23. The island of Wāq-wāq is probably the most fantastic among the wonderlands of Muslim geography. Ferrand distinguishes between two Wāq-wāqs, the one corresponding to Madagascar and the other to Sumatra, *Jour. As.*, avril, 1932, 193–243. The story of the flying "men" does not seem to occur elsewhere. The *Kitāb al-baḥr* must be some book of marvels similar to Sulaymān (v.s. p. 82). Cf. also Ibrāhīm b. Waṣīf-shāh's *Mukhtaṣar al-'ajā'ib* (tr. by Carra de Vaux), and his larger Book of Marvels quoted by Ḥājji Khalifa. On the ancient reports of mariners see above Chap. VIII, §§ 14-16.

ADDENDA

THROUGH the kindness of the India Office Library the original MS. of Marvazi has again been placed at my disposal in Cambridge. Here are some additional gleanings to supplement the printed text.

ad p. 2. Personal details. One of the monsters examined by Marvazi (f. 46b) was a woman from the village of Makhwān near Marv. Marvazi (f. 64b) reports the words of Abul-Fath b. al-Ḥassāb on a mason whom he saw climb onto a spire (*mīl*) in Isfahan, in the year 477/1034. Marvazi (f. 64a) himself witnessed the similar prowess of a climber in Sarakhs. A reference to Marvazi's sojourn in Isfahan (but without date) is found on f. 62b: in the autumn some people from Idhaj (Khūzistān) were suffering from cold while Marvazi cooled his water with snow. F. 80a: an eye-witness story of a man who used a herd of sheep for the transportation of bow-strings and fish glue from Khwarazm to Marv. Marvazi often quotes Turkish terms: F. 70b: "a male camel" *lūk*; "a female camel" *arvāna*; a kind of long-haired camel *khankli* (**qangli*?); f. 82b: a kind of antelope in Turkish lands *saqaq* (**sayghaq*?).

ad p. 3. On f. 66b Marvazi sums up his first *Maqāla* as follows: "We have mentioned in it the conditions of men and the variety of their classes and customs, and the effect produced on them by the nature of their habitat and the climate of their residence; as well as the difference of the great nations in their customs, mode of life, creeds, sayings, mutual enmities and friendships. Also, facts about males and females, procreation, embryos and their formation. Also, facts about eunuchs and their habits. Also, habits and their influence on bodies. Also, the utility of human limbs. Now we turn our attention to dumb animals, wild beasts, cattle, beasts of prey, birds, insects, reptiles (*banāt al-mā*). We begin with those which have the biggest bodies and are the greatest in the estimation of men."

ad p. 6, note 1. In the chapter on Longevity (f. 61a) Marvazi quotes Abū 'Ubaydullāh Muhammad b. 'Umrān al-Marzubānī's *Kitāb al-shabāb wal-shayb*.

ad p. 30–1. The names *Kujā*, *Ark* and *Ūj* belong to a series found also in the *Ḥudūd* and Gardīzī. Kucha is well known, see *Ḥudūd*, p. 232. I tentatively identified *Ark* (in Persian "a citadel") with *Būgūr* (described by Kāshgharī as a "castle"), *ibid.*, 274. W. Henning, *BSOS*, IX/3, 564–71, sees in *Ark* a reminiscence of **Argi*, i.e. the present-day Qarashar. Phonetically this explanation is tempting, but I still reserve the possibility of Qarashar being *J.mly-kat*, cf. *Ḥudūd*, § 12, 10, and p. 275 (different from *J.m.l-kat*, § 12, 2). On Ūj see *Ḥudūd*, 293–4.

ad p. 63. A *Kitāb akhbār al-Ṣīn* is referred to on f. 83a (musk).

ad p. 91. On f. 82b it is stated that according to some "experts" musk is found in the deserts lying between India and China, towards Inner Tibet and Kashmir.

ad p. 122. A *Kitāb al-ahwiya wal-buldān* by Galen (*sic*) is quoted on f. 11b.

ad p. 106. The *Qūrī* are apparently the *Khori* Mongols whom Rashīd al-dīn treats as a branch of the Barghut, ed. Berezin, VII, 108. The Barghūt lived in the country of Barghūjin-Tükūm. The name *Khori*, meaning "twenty" in Mongolian, must point to the number of original clans of this group.

ad p. 115. The island of Nokuyev, off the Murmansk coast, "is rendered especially conspicuous by its black, round-topped rocks," P. Semenov, *Slovar Ross. Imperii*, 1867, III, 361.

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INDEX

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k.—kingdom; mt.—mountain; r.—river; t.—tribe

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